ABSTRACT

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Perspectives on Black Africa; The National Geographic Magazine, 1931-1941 and 1957-1967

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The objectives of this thesis are to determine what information was presented about Black Africa in the National Geographic Magazine articles published during two ten year periods; pre-World War II, 1931-1941 and post-Ghanaian Independence, 1957-1967; to describe the authors' attitudes towards Black Africa as expressed in the articles; to evaluate to what extent the content of the Black African-related articles published during those two decades reflected the atmosphere of the time and the degree and level of interest prevalent during those periods; and to compare and contrast the two periods examined to determine whether or not there was a change of attitude about Black Africa expressed by the authors through their articles. The researcher worked under the assumption that the attitudes expressed in the two ten year periods under analysis would be significantly different.

In undertaking this work the researcher drew on the articles relating to Black Africa in the National Geographic Magazine Vols. 59-80 and Vols. 111-132. The 42 volumes of the National Geographic Magazine covering those two ten year periods were examined to identify the articles relating to Black Africa. The twenty-six articles that contained a discussion of

some aspect of African life and culture were selected for review.

Historical information about the National Geographic Magazine is provided in the introduction of this work. Articles appearing in the publication during the decade 1931-1941 are considered in Chapter One. Generally, the articles during that period focus on the old and 'primitive' Africa, minimizing contemporary change and evolution. Chapter Two considers articles published during the period from 1957-1967. In the selections from that period, change (contrast of old and new) is the pervading theme. The third and final chapter serves as a synopsis as well as a contrast and comparison of the two periods examined to determine whether there was a change of attitudes towards Black Africa expressed in the articles. The assessment concludes that attitudes expressed in the two periods have undergone a significant change primarily in the latter period's subtle fascination with the 'exotic,' 'primitive,' alien cultures south of the Sahara.

PERSPECTIVES ON BLACK AFRICA; THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, 1931-1941 AND 1957-1967

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

The time period from 1884 to 1957 in African History is considered a colonial era. "During this time, the primary fact of African life was the political and military predominance of colonial governments. Their word was law."[1]

The colonial era may be divided into three main periods: 1884–1914, 1914–1945, and from 1945–1957. During the first period from 1884 to 1914, ". . . European powers sought to establish their authority and make their colonies economically self-sufficient. They levied taxes and created opportunities for Africans to earn cash income with which to pay them." Some Africans worked to construct transportation and communications systems. Others worked for the colonial governments on the commercial plantations it supported.

> Still other Africans were trained to work in the local armies and in /the/ police forces. This training forged links between them and the Europeans. The creation of a new African elite, employed by the colonial system and its administrators is one of the most significant outcomes of the initial period of colonial rule.[2]

> The second stage of colonial rule lasted from approximately 1914 to 1945. The major characteristics of this period were an expansion of exports and consolidation of a colonial system, with the Europeans on top. Colonial governments were at the zenith of their power /during this period/. A civil service system was firmly established. The few Africans who had held

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[1] Evelyn Jones Rich and Emmanuel Wallerstein, Africa: Tradition and Change (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), p. 268.

[2] Ibid.

> relatively high civil service positions were demoted. On the lower levels Africans and Europeans who had similar jobs received different rates of pay. When European civil servants brought their families to Africa, segregation and discrimination developed. The disparity in living standards between Europeans and Africans became more apparent.[3]

It should be pointed out here that most Africans as farmers, herders, or even artisans lived and still live in rural areas, and were relatively uneffected by these changes of the second period. Consequently their cultures continued to function as they always had. Thus writers from this time onward had the choice to focus on the traditional culture and treat it as though it were static, or to concentrate on the changes and stresses that characterize societies in a state of rapid change and "development".

"During /this/ period of colonial rule, the educational systems were greatly expanded" as a new generation of Africans had the opportunity to experience education. "Schools varied from colony to colony. But all were similar in that they were geared to training Africans to work in white-collar jobs in the colonial system."[4] Some, however,

> . . . were to emerge equipped not merely for participation but for leadership in the New Africa. Some /Europeans/ . . . in Africa began to speak scornfully of 'trousered blacks' and 'handfuls of examination-bred students'; yet during this second phase of the colonial period their appearance could be considered one of the most important events in African history.[5]

Nationalism characterized the third period of the colonial era, from 1945 to 1957.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ronald Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1962), p. 215.

> Various types of political organizations evolved in colonial Africa. Some were pressure groups organized around specific issues; a few were underground movements; others were trade unions; and still others were legal political parties.[6]

> In the period after World War II, almost every African country saw the emergence of a nationalist movement that grouped in one way or another various forces pushing for political change and independence. One of the earliest and most pertinent themes of Nationalism movements was 'Africanization'--the demand to replace Europeans with Africans in high-ranking jobs in civil service, in churches, and in business.[7]

A tremendous awakening characterized the continent of Africa in the later years of the 1950's and throughout the 60's. Ghana, gaining its sovereignty on March 6, 1957, was the first of a number of sub-Saharan countries to gain independence during the break-up of European colonial empires subsequent to World War II. Ghana's acquisition of freedom served as a paradigm and gave impetus to African Nationalist movements in other countries that gained sovereignty during that period.

The period of transition from colonialism to independence inspired a new world wide interest in Africa and brought about a more positive cultural identification for Blacks throughout the entire African Diaspora. In the United States and in the world generally, a fervent desire to know more about Africa, historically, geographically, and culturally accompanied this new interest in Africa. It was during this period also, that numerous African studies programs were implemented in educational institutions. Increased knowledge caused perceptual changes and a subsequent change of attitudes. These changes were discernible in the writings of scholars

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[6]Rich and Wallerstein, Africa: Tradition and Change, pp. 309-10.

[7]Ibid.

and in the press during that period. It must be noted that the focus of attention was not on the whole of Africa but on Africa south of the Sahara Desert region, "Black Africa."

History of the National Geographic Magazine

The National Geographic Society, publisher of the monthly National Geographic Magazine, was organized in Washington, D. C., in January 1888 "for the increase and diffusion of geographic knowledge".[8] The three goals of the magazine were firstly accuracy, secondly an "abundance of beautiful and instructive illustration,"[9] and thirdly the avoidance of controversy while still being timely.

The early editions of the magazine were largely technical, and the data exhaustive; the publications after 1899 were more suited to the general public. For a number of years, contributors to the National Geographic Magazine were mostly individuals connected with government bureaus and departments. By 1908 photographs made up nearly half of the eighty pages of the publication. The first color photographs appeared in the magazine in November 1910.

> The color illustration that now brightened nearly every article made it possible to reproduce national costumes much more effectively. The quaintness of dress of foreign peoples had long been emphasized by the Geographic's pictures. And undress had been a feature in illustration, too; pictures of dusky, bare-breasted

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[8]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. 4 1885-1905 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 620. I've been able to find no other discussion of the attitudes, biases, and information which characterize the National Geographic Magazine.

[9]Ibid., p. 625.

> belles and young men with robust black torsos representing native tribes in obscure parts of the world had come to be expected in occasional articles.[10]

In 1917 the society membership (and magazine circulation) reached one-half million, and by 1926 had surpassed the one million mark.

> After the war, the Geographic was more colorful than ever. In 1946 it began some 'bleeding' of color pages, eliminating margins and giving the effect of the larger page that the magazine has been willing to adopt; and in a year or two nearly all color pages were given that treatment.[11]

Circulation for the magazine suffered little during the depression. Advertising, which was always held to twenty per cent of the magazine's total pages, showed no decline and overall the publication improved. Subsequent to World War II the subscription rate increased from three to five dollars and then to six, but circulation continued to expand reaching nearly two million by the 1950's. With its profits the untaxed, non-profit Society concentrated on the improvement of its magazine, and the actualization of its exploration and discovery projects. By the mid-1900's the magazine had attained the largest monthly circulation in the world at its price. Today, the circulation is estimated at some two and one quarter million.

Subject of This Thesis

The objectives of this thesis are to determine what information was presented about Black Africa in the National Geographic Magazine articles published during two ten year periods: pre-World War II, 1931-1941 and post-Ghanaian Independence, 1957-1967; to describe the authors' attitudes

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[10] Ibid., p. 630.

[11] Ibid., p. 631.

towards Black Africa as expressed in the articles; to evaluate to what extent the content of the Black African-related articles published during those two decades reflected the atmosphere of the time and the degree and level of interest prevalent during that period; and to compare and contrast the two periods examined to determine whether or not there was a change of attitude about Black Africa expressed by the authors through their articles. The researcher worked under the assumption that the attitudes expressed by the authors in the two ten year periods under analysis would be significantly different.

Data Collection

In undertaking this work the researcher drew on the articles relating to Black Africa in the National Geographic Magazine Vols. 59-80 and Vols. 111-132. Atlanta University's Trevor Arnett Library and the Carnegie Public Library (Atlanta), both have all of the National Geographic Magazine volumes necessary for the research. The research materials for the study proved to be no major obstacle.

Methodology

The 42 volumes of the National Geographic Magazine covering those two ten year periods were examined to identify the articles relating to Black Africa. Twenty-six articles that contained information about events occuring in Black Africa or that contained a discussion of some aspect of African life and culture were selected for review. The History of American Magazines and Magazines for Libraries were consulted for historical information on the National Geographic Magazine. The methodology employed in this study was one of critical analysis of the individual

articles relating to Black Africa and a contrast and comparison of the articles of the two ten year periods. Issues considered as part of the analysis are as follows:

1. What information is communicated about Africa?
2. What are the authors' attitudes about Africa as expressed in the articles?
3. Is the information or views expressed of any value?
4. Are the presentations faithful to the facts?

CHAPTER I

CONSIDERATION OF ARTICLES FROM THE PRE-WORLD WAR II ERA, 1931-1941

Introduction

In the period from 1931-1941, the widely held Western view of Africa can be characterized by the phrase "Darkest Africa" with accompanying illusions of wild savages with weapons and spears and poison darts, voo-doo, and witch doctors. During this period, thirty-two articles appeared in the National Geographic Magazine about Africa. Twenty-six of the articles presented discussions of non-Black African themes: Egypt, Morrocco, animals and non-Black African topography. Six of the thirty-two articles present material which relates to peoples and societies of Black Africa. These articles are: "Mandate of the Cameroun"[1] by John W. Vandercook, written in the year 1931, "Three-Wheeling Through Africa"[2] by James C. Wilson, written in 1934, "My Domestic Life in French Guinea"[3] by Eleanor de Chetelat, written in 1935, "Uganda, Land of

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[1] John W. Vandercook, "Mandate of the Cameroun," National Geographic 59 (February 1931): 225-260. NG will be used as an abbreviation in all subsequent bibliographical references to National Geographic.

[2] James C. Wilson, "Three-Wheeling Through Africa," NG 65, No. 1 (January 1934): 37-92.

[3] Eleanor de Chetelat, "My Domestic Life in French Guinea," NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 695-730.

Something New"[4] written in 1937 by Jay Marston, "Trans-Africa Safari"[5] by Lawrence Copely Thaw and Margaret Stout Thaw (husband and wife), written in 1938, and "Timbuktu and Beyond"[6] authored by Laura C. Boulton in the year 1941.

Laura Boulton's career certainly deserves mention. Her involvement in music and the field of ethnomusicology boasts accomplishments too numerous to mention. She has recorded and published a large quantity of albums with accompanying booklets on music, dance, and rhythms from Turkey, France, Yugoslavia, Spain, Mexico, Switzerland, Alaska, and other countries. She has served as a producer and director of documentary films on national groups and primitive tribes, has served on a number of recording projects as a guest of the governments of Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey, and has accompanied various expeditions to Central Africa and the West Indies. Other accomplishments include being an excellent lecturer, serving as a broadcaster for radio and television, and serving as a music faculty member for the University of California.

John W. Vandercook has lived in, traveled in or visited some seventy-three different countries of the world. His expeditions to little-known parts of the tropics have resulted in several well known books such as "Tom-Tom," "Black Majesty," and "Empress of the Dusk." He has accompanied numerous expeditions to Africa. His articles on travel and exploration

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[4]Jay Marston, "Uganda, 'Land of Something New'," NG 71, No. 1 (January 1937): 109-130.

[5]Lawrence Copely Thaw and Margaret Stout Thaw, "Trans-Africa Safari," NG 74, No. 3 (September 1938): 327-364.

[6]Laura C. Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," NG 79, No. 5 (May 1941): 631-670.

and on world affairs have been published in a variety of magazines such as Harper's, Asia, National Geographic, Vogue, Country Gentleman, American Magazine, Liberty, and Saturday Evening Post.

Three of the articles, by Thaw and Thaw, Wilson, and Boulton are based on safari-type adventures in which the authors traveled through various regions of Africa and were exposed to numerous cultures of the indigenous peoples. The other three articles, by Vandercook, Marston, and de Chetelat are based on sedantary sojourns in different regions of Black Africa.

None of the six articles under consideration reflects any deep investigation into the different aspects discussed. Generally the emphasis of the articles focuses on the gross dissimilarities between the Black African and Western worlds. Aspects treated may be classified as follows:

Royalty and Government

History

Religion and Initiation

Dance and Music

Crafts and Occupations

Food, Clothing and Housing

Body and Body Ornamentation

The discussions of the topics enumerated contain only information, attitudes, and opinions expressed by their authors within the articles under consideration unless otherwise stated.

Royalty and Government

The topics of royalty and government are treated in four of the six

articles considered in this chapter. The authors presenting discussions on aspects of royalty and government are Vandercook, Thaw and Thaw, Marston, and Boulton. The information related by the different authors through their articles pertinent to royalty and government will be discussed.

In his article, "Mandate of the Cameroun,"[7] Vandercook focuses on Njoya, Sultan of the Bamoum people and overlord of the city of Foumban. In the center of that city, the Sultan has a large three story residence. The city is very old. In the words of the author, it ". . . existed when the white man was no more than a myth."[8] Even today outside influences touch it ever so slightly. The Sultan is the inventor of one of the only two written alphabets known to have been produced in Black Africa--a phonetic alphabet which apparently has nothing in common with any other known.[9] The Sultan is also a student and patron of the arts and sciences. His collection, which contains carvings, bronzes, spears, bead work, brass jewelry, embroideries, masks of all shapes and sizes, and textiles is probably without parallel in the heart of Africa. The Sultan gathers the work because he takes pride in every tradition of his people. The author suggests that the art work within the Sultan's collection, and most other African art work, is decorative rather than symbolic. Vandercook also offers us the thought that albeit many of the masks are deliberately made grotesque, they reflect rare sculptural ability.

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[7]Vandercook, "Mandate Cameroun," pp. 225-260.

[8]Ibid., p. 241.

[9]The other script is that of the Via people of Northern Liberia.

Within the districts ruled by the Sultan are many N'gi or sub-chiefs, who usually exert much more real power than the Sultan, himself. They, the rulers, feel that they are the pure-blooded conquerors from the North, and therefore the superiors of the indigenous peoples with whom they have mingled. The fact is that little trace of the Arab strain remains, certainly not so far South as Foumban. The Bamoum are distinctly Negroid with an occasional appearance of straight features. This concludes Vandercook's treatment of royalty and government.

In the article "Trans-Africa Safari,"[10] by Thaw and Thaw, two figures of royalty are briefly considered. The Thaws write:

> Many African kings are absolute monarchs, in the sense that they possess unlimited powers over their subjects without an elective body to hamper their will; but in other kingdoms there are nobility, sectional or regional chiefs, and village headmen. . . .[11]

The 90,000 inhabitants (Hausas) of the huge town of Kano are ruled by an Emir who has absolute power over two million Hausas and is reputed to be one of the wealthiest native kings in Africa. The Emir is the sole administrator in the people's courts of law. The ruler's royal abode is extensive, including numerous huts.

Lamido Bouba Jamaha, King of Rei Bouba, is the one master of up to 50,000 slaves. His ownership encompasses their entire existence, their land, their cattle, and their crops. Should any of his subjects be given remuneration for a service, they would promptly take the gift to Lamido, even if it entailed traveling 100 miles to do so. His subjects never

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[10] Thaw and Thaw, "Trans-Africa Safari," pp. 327-364.

[11] Ibid., p. 351.

approach the king except when stripped to their waists and bent in obeisance. They must address him in a low monotone while lying prostrate.

The Lamido commands a large army whose dress is reminiscent of European medieval knights. Many are clad in chain mail and others wear helmets like those one might expect to find in the days of Saladin. Their weapons are crusader-like swords, and longbows with a quiver of arrows carried on their backs. Men and horses alike are caparisoned in bright-colored costumes. The authors suggest that the influence responsible for these trappings must have filtered through the deserts and jungles from the Arabs and Tuaregs of Northern Africa.

Communication in Rei Bouba, from His Majesty to villagers and groups of subjects is accomplished by drummers stationed at intervals throughout the kingdom. Skins which are sun-cured are ". . . stretched over the wide heads of hollow logs and laced tightly. Far carrying are the deep, resonant tones when the drums are placed on the ground and heavily beaten."[12] Thus is the picture of royalty and government given us by Thaw and Thaw.

Marston speaks of two systems of royalty, but very briefly, in his article "Uganda, 'Land of Something New'."[13] In 1937, at the time his article was written, His Highness Sir Daudi Chwa, who is the grandson of the legendary Kabaka (king) Mutesa, held the kingship. The Baganda culture, at that time still operated ". . . as a native kingdom, and the

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[12]Ibid., p. 39.

[13]Marston, "Uganda, New," pp. 109-130.

Kabaka, with his Prime Minister, Chief Justice, Treasurer, and his Lukiko, or Council . . . .[14] ruled it under British supervision.

The Watussi of the Kigezi district in southest Uganda, are described as "Hamitic" stock. The author tells us that they are attractive, with long, slender, hands and feet, and handsome profiles. The men grow to a height of seven feet. Their hair style, arranged in two upstanding crescents, accentuates their stature. A Bantu tribe (Bahutu) acts as serfs by tilling the soil and tending the fat cattle of the Watussi who are the aristocracy in a feudal type of system. This concludes Marston's discussion of royalty and government.

The Chief of the Habbé and the King of Beni are given very modest treatment in Boulton's "Timbuktu and Beyond,"[15] which gives us just a glimpse of many things, as her article is a report of a safari. The two story residence of the Habbé chief is located, as in many other African cultures, in the center of the village. Included in his courts are slaves, gardens, granaries, and a stable of horses.

The Obba (King) of Beni rules, much as his forefathers did, over a half million people in Southern Nigeria. His symbol of power is a huge wrought-iron knife with an ivory handle. His court includes two groups of musicians, one to play horns made from elephant tusks and large gourds and the other group to play flutes. The Obba reputedly has many wives. His royal court consists of ". . . the chiefs who make up the body of elders and who have great authority. There are about 50 of them,

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[14]Ibid., p. 115.

[15]Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," pp. 631-670.

all tall, splendid, handsome fellows, with hair shaved into the form of a coronet . . . ."[16] This is the extent of Boulton's discussion.

We find in all of the authors' discussions only scant information pertinent to Black African royalty and government. Different types of kingships are mentioned, but explanations of them are lacking. For instance, Boulton mentions that the Obba of Beni's symbol of power is a huge wrought-iron sword, but does not reveal the meaning behind the elements of the symbol. The explanations not provided for such things would have proved the discussions to be much more interesting and informative.

History

Throughout the authors' discussions of the various peoples of Black Africa, mention of their histories is only ever so slight, if any at all. Three of the authors, Wilson, Boulton, and de Chetelat offer historical information only in passing.

Wilson tells us that the Tuaregs, proud people of the veil,

> reputedly one of the most warlike of African tribes, are thought to be decendants of Berbers, who were driven southward into the desert when the Arabs swept across North Africa in the 11th century, though some authorities date their emergence as a distinct people a good deal farther back than that.[17]

Wilson also informs us that the Kanuri people, who are cattle-raisers, inhabit a province southwest of Lake Chad called Bornu and the Komaduga Yobe. Communities of these people have been observed just north of Lake Chad as well.

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[16] Ibid., p. 670.

[17] Wilson, "Three-Wheeling," p. 59. To my amazement no authorities are cited.

> They are desert people who came south long ago and mixed with the Negro tribes of Bornu, and the name 'Beriberi' (Berber?), given them by their neighbors, the Hausa, probably indicates that they were once much lighter-skinned than at present.[18]

An era during the 16th century boasts their predominence as one of the most powerful empires of Central Africa, but since, their political power has languished.

Wilson also tells us that the islands and swamps of Lake Chad are inhabited by the Buduma people. The Buduma are believed by some to be remnant of the ancient Kanembu, who had taken refuge in Lake Chad. This is the extent of Wilson's historical treatment of Black African people.

Boulton tells us that historically, the Susu of coastal Guinea once resided in the interior of West Africa, but wandered to the coast some two centuries ago. As a result the tribes that were already there were driven southward.

Boulton explains that centuries ago the Habbé built their homes on steep slopes at the edge of the desert to be safe from their enemies. It is here that they have been ever since. The Habbé (Tombo) tradition tells us that they came to their present settlement centuries ago while being pursued by their enemy, the Peuhl (Fulani) tribe. During their journey they came to the Niger River where a friendly crocodile carried them across the river on his back. Their safe arrival at their present home in the cliffs is attributed to the crocodile, and to their medicine men and fetishes, which will be treated later on in this paper within the discussion of religion.

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[18] Ibid., p. 72.

These two brief statements relevant to the histories of the Susu and the Habbé are the extent of Boulton's historical treatment of Black African people.

De Chetelat only briefly speaks to the history of the Fulah, nomadic tribesmen of Guinea. The Fulah have apparently traced their ancestry back to Egypt. Their people swept down the Fouta Djellon plateau in the 18th century where they settled and enslaved or drove out the Negro peoples. Some of the Fulah of this region are mixed with the blood of the 'Hamite' people which accounts for their lighter-skins, acquiline noses, and-often-thin lips. This is the extent of de Chetelat's discussion of Black African history within her article.

We find that the authors' discussions offer us only brief and non-substantial historical information relevant to Black African people and that they confuse myth, legend and history.

Religion and Initiation

Religion and initiation are treated within the articles of three authors; Boulton, Wilson and de Chetelat.

The articles in general indicate that many African peoples are devout Mohammedans, among them, the Hausas, the Bamoum, and the Fulahs. Some, like the Bassaris, have a religion based on fetishism. Others like the Habbé and the Moslem Susu combine their ancient customs with other religious systems. Some, like the Bamoum, can hardly remember a time when their life was not strongly influenced by Arabic belief. Many of the Moslem towns conduct Mohammedan Koran classes, which the youth attend. It has been observed that Africans are extraordinarily gentle and affectionate towards children, in a school situation as well as all others.

Some African religions are represented by powerful mediums and medicine men.

Boulton tells us that while the Habbé were being pursued by their enemies, the Peuhl, centuries ago, they were being directed along their journey by their fetishes. Miracles performed by their medicine men and fetishes saved them from the Peuhl who were in pursuit and from hunger and thirst they endured prior to their arrival at their present home in the cliffs. The crocodile which helped them across the Niger River during their journey is venerated in their religion today. At their mountain home they found ". . . caves occupied by quiet, friendly people, whose religion the Habbé combined with their own fetish worship. The migrating tribe intermarried with the cave dwellers, and they now have become one people."[19]

Boulton discusses initiation rites among the Habbé and the Susu. She tells us that located around the Habbé villages are altars which are utilized by the boys of the Habbé culture to offer sacrifices during the time they reach adulthood and are initiated into clandestine knowledge of adult society.

> At the end of the initiation period, the boys, without assistance of their elders, pound millet into flour and mix it with warm water, making a paste which they pour on the shrines sculptured in clay.[20]

To complete the offering they must kill something wild and offer its blood to the altar.

Boulton tells us that among the Susu, the girls, while between the

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[19]Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," p. 638.

[20]Ibid.

ages of 12 and 16, are tutored in ancestral lore by special instructors at the termination of the dry season. Boys acquire their knowledge of ancestral tribal spirit worship and fetishes in a separate group. This concludes Boulton's discussion of religion and initiation.

Wilson writes that most of the Buduma are Mohammedans, but ". . . some venerate the reed out of which they make canoes, wearing a small section of it around the neck as an amulet."[21]

The villagers of a settlement on the eastern portion of Lake Chad do what other religions might think very odd.

> Every morning the inhabitants throw a calabash of millet into the water, invoking the good will of their 'mother', the lake. If the fish come out and eat the millet, the people are happy, believing this acceptance of their offering a sign of favor.[22]

This concludes Wilson's discussion of religion.

De Chetelat discusses the Koniagui religion only briefly. She tells us that in the center of Koniagui villages are circular-shaped houses. These houses are usually the home of a spirit, a sanctified residence of the villagers' diety. "The Koniagui religion is directly connected with their politics and entire social organization and is replete with ceremonial mystery."[23]

Many African cultures have initiation rites for their young men and women. De Chetelat discusses the initiation rites among the Koniagui. Among the Koniagui, a three year initiation period is an important part of every boy's training. The events are clandestine and held far from

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[21]Wilson, "Three-Wheeling," p. 73.

[22]Ibid.

[23]De Chetelat, "Domestic Life," p. 729.

the village in the bush. After the final ceremony, each youth resides in his own hut on his father's compound. The Koniagui purport that the isolation period is part of the young man's preparation for manhood. Outsiders conjecture that ". . . its chief purpose was to teach him how to keep woman in her place."[24] Young Koniagui boys enjoy archery most of all of their sports. The women are not permitted to marry until they have proved their fertility by giving birth to at least one child.

> In the intervening years, after the initiation of the youths and the excision of the girls, until their marriage, promiscuity is looked upon as obligatory, after that it is a heinous offense, so that the tendency is to marry late.[25]

This concludes de Chetelat's discussion of religion and initiation.

In spite of the authors' attempt to focus on the weird and the bizzare, they do show that religion in Black Africa takes many different forms, among them fetish worship, Mohammedanism, ancestral worship, and possibly a combination of those mentioned or one combined with yet another religious system. Whichever form the religious systems take it is obvious that they are a very important aspect within African life. The social and religious systems are intimately interwoven. The initiation rites, as well, have been shown to be a vital function in some Black African societies.

Dance and Music

Authors contributing to the discussion of dance and music are Thaw and Thaw, Marston, Boulton, Vandercook, and Wilson.

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[24]Ibid., p. 703.

[25]Ibid., p. 729.

Thaw and Thaw tell us that music and dance is an integral part of all African cultures. Dancers perform the most intricate steps in perfect rhythm with the accompaniment of the syncopated beat of the drums. Brilliant is the dance display of agility and coordination when the Watussi leap high into the air and hit the ground with a ringing stamp, relates Marston. Marston's contribution ends here.

Thaw and Thaw are of the opinion that all African dances are symbolic and that ". . . African natives are simple, childlike creatures, whose symbolism is as primitive as their other instincts."[26] They also suggest that it is easy in Africa

> . . . to see where our American negro gets his love of jazz and syncopation. No rhythmical work, such as paddling or poling, is accomplished without one or two drums to beat the tempo and preferably with a lusty baritone to chant an accompaniment.[27]

This concludes the Thaws' contribution to the discussion.

Boulton's discussion informs us that unlike many African cultures, the dances of the Habbé takes place during the daylight hours and are accompanied by song, drumming and explosions of gunpowder. The dances, which are highly dignified and formal, tell the story of their culture. Some of the performers wear

> . . . huge wooden headdresses with tall swastikalike crosses representing the crocodiles who befriended the Habbé in their wanderings and who are now revered as ancestors. Others wore fantastic masks with cowrie shells woven into the fiber of the headdress or hoods, and shirts, anklets and armlets of grass. These wierd-looking performers represented the Peuhl tribe.[28]

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[26] Thaw and Thaw, "Trans-Africa Safari," p. 342.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," p. 647.

This is the extent of Boulton's discussion.

Vandercook relates that a large variety of musical instruments may be found in Africa, particularly drums, harps, and mandolins, of all shapes, sizes and tones. Gourds are hollowed out and used as rattles, some with seeds inside, others with them strung outside. By stroking stones with small flat cups a very nice soft music can be made.

Vandercook suggests that all elaborate African music, especially that of stringed instruments, is displeasing to Europeans, but the quieter, more personal, songs and their accompaniment have, however, haunting and charming melodies. He feels it a curious fact that whites find it almost impossible to recall or repeat even the simplest African musical refrains.

Finally, Vandercook tells us that the African aborigine usually relies on the sounds of nature for musical motifs. Bird songs at dawn, or the rush of streams flowing over rocks usually gives them a theme to improvise from. This concludes Vandercook's discussion of music.

Wilson writes that one of the drums used by the Yorubas is an

> ... elongated tom-tom, hourglass shaped so that a performer holding it under his arm could vary the pitch, tympanum fashion, by exerting pressure on the cords connecting the heads. Three elements of Yoruba speech--vowel, consonant, and pitch inflection --could all be approximated with surprising accuracy. Drummers frequently 'show off' by holding long conversations on their instruments.[29]

This concludes Wilson's discussion of music.

The discussions of dance and music offer some facts and even some insights, but they also indicate the authors' serious misunderstanding of the aesthetics of Black African peoples' dance and music.

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[29]Wilson, "Three-Wheeling," p. 39.

Crafts and Occupations

Authors contributing to the discussion of crafts and occupations are Marston, Wilson, de Chetelat, Vandercook and Thaw and Thaw.

The techniques and the varieties of crafts and occupations as well as the social institutions surrounding them vary with every African culture. The articles indicate, clearly enough, that even when specific crafts or occupations are not developed within a particular culture that each culture nonetheless possesses the skills needed to sustain itself. Marston's brief mention of the Batwa serves as a good example.

The Batwa live high on the slopes of the volcanoes Mikena and Sabinio in the country of Uganda. These people, who are reddish in color with large round eyes and puckered faces, are labeled by the author as semi-pygmies. Skilled in tracking and hunting, they seem fearless when in pursuit of gorillas and elephants. They arm themselves with bows and arrows. They are not sedantary and move their communities from one hunting region to another.

Wilson's discussion of the Kanembu serves as another example of special crafts for sustaining life in particular circumstances. These people move from place to place, depending on the availability of the water supply in the arid land in which they live. In their region the rainy season is very short. Small streams run in the valleys of the region after it has rained. The villagers then dam up the valleys, collect the water very carefully ". . . and pour it into the hollow trunks of the baobab trees."[30] The trees offer the only water storage tanks

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[30]Ibid., p. 76

many people of the Sahara desert regions have. During the long dry season, " . . . the natives hoard the precious liquid carefully, drawing it up in goatskin bags through a hole in the top of the trunk."[31]

Wilson informs us that the Tuaregs, who are traders, are a nomadic people also. They move from location to location, their only stopping places being trade centers and market places.

Wilson's discussion continues with a focus on iron and salt workings, which gives the reader some insight into cultures that have extended division of labor. Bida, which is the center of the Nupe people, is renowned throughout Nigeria for its brass. In Bida, the brass smith operates under a guild system which is very similar to that of medieval Europe. Each trade or craft usually has its chief who maintains the standards, sets the prices, determines the hours, and makes other important rulings. Wilson even offers a little history. All brass utilized in Bida is of European origin. "The absence of zinc--in this part of Africa . . . [suggests] that the industry postdates the coming of the whiteman."[32] ". . . the most characteristic African metal is iron, which is widely distributed over large areas in ores so rich that it can be extracted by the simplest methods."[33] Early in Africa, after the successful useage of fire, the melting process was discovered. Iron working today is probably the most common craft in Africa. In some regions, entire cultures make their livelihood from it.

On the shore of Lake Albert, the women of a village called Kibiro

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 49.

[33] Ibid., p. 51.

are the hereditary landholders and own ancestral salt workings. The mines are the wealth of the community, as they supply all of Western Uganda. In some villages, the people extract impure potash ". . . highly prized as a condiment, by burning logs of a certain tree in crude furnaces, running water through the ashes and pouring it into evaporating cones of heavy thatching to precipitate the mineral."[34]

Wilson adds the interesting note that salt may be extracted from certain types of plants in the same way and sometimes even from cattle dung after the cattle have ingested the plants.

De Chetelat speaks only briefly about the occupations of the Fulah of Guinea. The Fulah raise large herds of cattle and sheep. As talented artisans, they also make colorful baskets, mats, and leather goods which they sell in nearby market places.

Vandercook relates that for the people of the Cameroon, cultivation methods are very crude. The Bamoum people, of this grassland plateau region, use no animals or plows. The hoes are of various shapes and since the ground is soft from continual tillage, they suffice. The author finally tells us that the peasants live under a flexible system of serfdom, in which they share their produce with a chief or headman in exchange for his protection.

Thaw and Thaw tell us only that the men of the Magbettu, in the Congo, have excelled nearly all others in the crafts of pottery, sculpture, boat building and masonry and that usually their huts are larger and better than those built in other cultures.

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[34]Ibid., p. 80.

The authors indicate that crafts and occupations among Black African people are varied, depending on a number of things. The one thing regarded as most important in determining occupations is the land on which people reside. The land may determine whether farming or iron working is a possibility. However, the social institutions and economy along with many other factors within each culture combined with the topography and other natural influences would finally determine what their crafts or occupations would be.

Food, Clothing and Housing

All seven authors, Marston, Thaw and Thaw, Vandercook, Wilson, de Chetelat and Boulton contribute to the discussion of food, clothing and housing.

Marston tells us only that the Baganda women of Uganda wear long swathed garments and that their hair is cropped pepper corn.

Thaw and Thaw speak only of housing, and very briefly. They inform the reader that in Equatorial Africa dwell Ubangi craftsmen who build walls of pinkish-gray clay in various designs. Some are fluted, others are plain with thatched coverings. Doors are large enough to admit cattle, with which some people share their houses. The openings are widest near the center, to admit the thickest part of the cow's body. Finally, the Thaws tell us that the Hausas of Kano have developed a unique style of architecture with the use of mud. The walls of Kano are some eleven miles in circumference.

Vandercook speaks mostly to the subject of food, devotes a couple sentences to housing and a few phrases to clothing. He relates that at

market places throughout Africa a great variety of produce is displayed. Leather boots, scabbards, harnesses, exquisite pieces of embroidery, and rolls of homespun cotton are just a sample of things one might expect to find at a typical African market place. Ngaoundére, the largest wholly native city in the Cameroon as well as the most important center for the life of that region, sometimes has as many as 4,000 people attend its market on a single day. The weekend market is a major event. Individuals may travel for two weeks to attend the market at Ngaoundére. The sights, sounds, and smells of vigorous trading in that town give an impression of thriving, continuing African life. "The favorable climate, the mixture of types, and, above all, the remoteness of the corruptive influences of white civilization clearly show their effect."[35] The food of the market is very inviting. There are delicacies ranging from roasted termites to crocodile steaks. There are thousands of ears of fine Indian corn. Tufts of cotton, groundnuts (peanuts), zebu meat, entrails, corn meal, chickens, baskets, calabash bowls, and long narrow strips of native cotton cloth may be found at these markets. Formerly all transactions were exchanges in kind, but in recent years barter has given way to sale, and French coins of the smaller denominations -5, -10, and -50 centime pieces are freely utilized. A laborer's wage for a full day in the Cameroon is equivalent to about 4 cents.

Legend has it that the naming of the Cameroon region was by a Portuguese navigator

> . . . who while fishing at the mouth of a river, in latitude 4 degrees north, on the west coast of Africa, drew up a quantity

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[35]Vandercook, "Mandate Cameroun," p. 243.

> of shrimps, the Portuguese word for which is camarões. Straightway he named the region.[36]

The British later called it Camerouns. It was subsequently changed to Kamerun by the Germans, but the French held it to Cameroon.

The people of the southern portion of the Cameroon, those of the forest, are much less fortunate than those that live in the cities. They usually reside in shabby houses made of leaf wattle and wispy thatch. Most of the people have very little energy and the vast majority of them are ill with yaws, malaria, rickets, elephantisis, dengue or sleeping sickness. In some villages, upwards to 97 percent of the inhabitants are infected by the parasitic ailment carried by infected tsetse flies.

Finally, Vandercook tells us that the houses of the city of Foumban are constructed of sun-dried brick with roofs of native tiles and grass thatch.

Wilson speaks briefly of clothes, food and housing. He tells us that the majority of the Yoruba men dress in loose fitting robes while the women and their 'pickens' (children) that traditionally cling to their backs are wrapped in homespun cloth. "Little girls wear a fringe or a string of coral beads around the waist; little boys seldom fret about clothes."[37] Tuareg men traditionally veil themselves in a deep dark blue garment that sometimes stains their skin, which accounts for their being called 'Bluemen'. Their women do not veil themselves.

Speaking of food, Wilson relates that for most of the people in the interior of Nigeria, guinea corn is the staple of their diets and serves the same purpose for them as the yam and the cassava do for the people of the coast. One species of guinea corn matures in three months

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[36]Wilson, "Three Wheeling," p. 38.

[37]Ibid., p. 80

and another requires as long as seven months before maturation. Some grow to heights of fourteen feet.

Wilson continues. The population density and the tsetse fly are both responsible for the scarcity of both wild and domestic animals, and have literally forced the Yoruba to vegetarianism save for the beef imported from the Central Sudan. The diet of the Yoruba consists of yams, oranges, cassava, plaintains, bananas, nuts, paw paws, pineapples, and salt, all of which may be found at a nearby market.

Lastly Wilson speaks of houses. He tells us that the abodes in which different peoples live are usually contructed of the raw elements to be found on the different regions they live in. The Buduma, for instance, who live among the islands and swamps of Lake Chad, reside in villages made of reed huts. Out of the same reeds they build barges and rafts by tying bundles of them together. They also construct the hulls of other boats out of the ambash tree which grows throughout the islands of the lake and has nearly the same bouyancy as cork. The Kanembu, who live not far from the Lake Chad region in lands approaching the desert, build their temporary dwellings of skin and grass matting. Household items usually consist of

> . . . a mat to sleep on, a few knives, pots, and calabash cooking utensils, a mortar to grind corn and millet in, water skins, a bag of grain hanging from a forked stick and that's all.[38]

De Chetelat, in her contribution to the discussion of food, clothing and housing, speaks briefly of Fulah dress and housing. She touches

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[38]Ibid., p. 80.

lightly as well on the diet and housing of the Koniaguis. She advises us that the Fulah women wear a native woven garment of cloth strips that have been sewn together while the men are garbed in cloaklike robes, some of which are heavily embroidered.

She tells us that the Koniaguis of Guinea grow large crops of grain and peanuts, but never plant fruit trees. Funio, rice, corn, manioc, honey, yams, beans, tomatoes, and onions make up a large portion of the Koniagui diet. Cattle in this culture is kept for meat only, the milk is not utilized. The young boys gather oil-palm sap from the palm trees of the region every few days. The sap is made into a highly intoxicating drink by mixing it with water and allowing it to ferment.

The author tells us that "all Fulah huts are circular, with hard-beaten earth floors, thatched roofs, two doors, and no windows. One door leads out, the other opens into an enclosure made of high bamboo stakes . . . ."[39] The Koniaguis' thatched-roof huts are constructed of split bamboo woven around stakes. Each male lives in an individual hut of his own. The women share a hut with their unmarried daughters and small sons. This concludes de Chetelat's discussion.

Boulton speaks briefly to each of the topics of the present discussion. Information given to us by her on clothing indicates that some of the Susu, of Guinea, have adopted the dress of the Arabs of Northern Africa, wearing the Fez and sandals. The influence of European dress, such as shoes, and lipstick can be traced among the Susu also. The money to purchase such items comes from palm oil and peanuts. Mode of dress

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[39]De Chetelat, "Domestic Life," p. 714.

distinguishes the royalty from the poor men of the Habbé. The chiefs and nobles are clad in long flowing, cotton robes while the poor men and slaves wear short, handwoven smocks.[40]

According to Boulton, "the chief cereal of West Africa is millet, staple food of all of the tribes. . . ."[41] The Habbé people grow beans and onions. The beans are ground by the women of the village to make a fine flour, which is utilized to make a porridge. The onions are pounded into a tender pulp and formed into large balls which are sold or exchanged at a market for ". . . tooled leather bracelets or cowrie shells, a bit of cloth or a medicine man's charm."[42]

Cowrie shells are utilized at many markets for currency. In fact, all over Africa, this little shell, which comes from the Indian Ocean, is utilized " . . . in magic rituals and in addition to its value as a charm, has real monetary worth."[43] The value of the shell, however, fluctuates just as money in contemporary society. The shell most probably has more buying power before harvest than after.

Miss Boulton speaks briefly of the Habbé housing. The Habbé build their huts in small clusters, perched on cliffs. Villages grouped together as communities among these people are known as Sangha. The Habbé huts are constructed of mud, fagots, peat, and straw.

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[40]Boulton informs the reader that in most African communities slaves are not badly treated and are considered members of the family who are expected to perform certain tasks. In many cultures they are able to purchase their freedom, but rarely do so.

[41]Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," p. 662.

[42]Ibid., p. 638.

[43]Ibid.

Lastly, the author advises us of the interesting fact that on the roofs of the Habbé houses close to the entrance of the central portion of the village are some large rocks which are used as doorbells. "Travelers approaching the town at night must throw stones against these rocks to attract attention, then satisfy the inhabitants of their intention before they are allowed to enter."[44]

The discussions of food, clothing and housing by the authors provide the reader with some interesting information; however, much more information could have been given concerning each of the three aspects of the discussion. Within the discussions we see that the authors did not focus on the strange and bizzare to the extent that they have for some of the previous topics. Nonetheless, their preoccupation with the odd is still present.

Body and Body Ornamentation

Contributing to the discussion of Body and Body Ornamentation are Marston, Wilson, de Chetelat and Thaw and Thaw.

Marston communicates that the Baganda men of Uganda are tall and husky and usually wear long white garments similar to the Arabian kanzu. The women

> . . . walk well, with their babies on their backs, often covering the infants with a gourd for shade. Neither they nor the men bear the tribal cuts and raised patterns on their faces and bodies . . . , of so many other cultures.[45]

North of the 14,176 foot Mt. Elgon is the country of the Karamojong

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Marston, "Uganda New," p. 125.

and the Turkana, tall, thin, Nilotic, hunters. The only other thing Marston offers us is the fact that the Karamojong women wear numerous arm, neck and ankle rings of metal ornamentation. Their lower lip is also pierced with some adornment in it.

Wilson informs us that the different Yoruba families are usually distinguished by unique facial scarification. The practice usually takes place during infancy. A scar is made in the flesh of the individual and then rubbed with ashes and irritating herbs to make it permanent. Although in some families people file notches in their incisors as imbellishment, the Yorubas take good care of their teeth by constantly brushing them with frayed ends of a small stick. The Yoruba are extraordinarily clean people and seem to devote great concern to their personal habits. Finally, the author communicates that they are always washing their clothes, their babies and themselves.

De Chetelat advises the reader that albeit some Fulah women prefer the more contemporary bandanna to the elaborate headdress, traditionally their coiffures are towering headdresses that require hours of preparation which are supported by bamboo barettes. Ornamentation of large rings, hanging in their ears, and utilized as bracelets and anklets, all contribute to the colorful appearance of Fulah women.

The city of Boussoura in West Africa is the home of the Bassari culture. The characteristic features of the Bassaris are a ". . . flat nose and thick lips."[46] Men and women both have their noses pierced during their early years. A porcupine quill is usually worn in the nose

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[46]Ibid., p. 716.

one of the topics. Marston's contribution to the discussion of food, clothing and housing serves as a salient example. He tells us only that the Baganda women of Uganda wear long swathed garments and that their hair is cropped pepper-corn.

The authors' focus on scarification rather than bracelets, rings, necklaces or other ornamentation verify their pre-occupation with the exotic. Equally as inane is their imposition of the Western notion of nakedness on Africans, because for many African cultures clothing is not necessarily cloth covering the body, but perhaps intricate designs or patterns, beads, or even some type of fringe on some portion or portions of the body. Other examples of the authors' focus on exoticism is their mention of the seven foot Watussi culture, the Batwa 'semi-pygmies', and finally the obligatory promiscuity of young Koniagui women.

Some of the phrases alone, utilized by the authors indicate the types of perceptions held by them about Black Africa. Some examples are: "warlike. . .African tribes," "benighted heathen," "natives," "medicine men and fetishes," and "primitive hill people."

One of Thaw and Thaw's most flagrant misconceptions is the thought that Africans are simple childlike creatures.

"These African natives are simple, child-like creatures, whose symbolism is as primitive as their other instincts."[48]

> We were not sorry to leave these primitive hill people of the filed teeth. One minute they are doing a dance for you, and gratefully accepting your salt, while the next they are hidden behind rocks taking pot shots at you with poisoned arrows.[49]

Thaw and Thaw, and Boulton reveal in a number of their statements

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[48]Ibid., p. 342.

[49]Ibid., p. 355.

that their perceptions of Africans are filtered through their misconceptions of Black Americans, and that as a result their perception of each group reinforces their misconceptions of the other.

> Suddenly we came upon some huge tempting green desert melons, and hoping, in this thirsty land, to find them refreshing and sweet, we bought large quantities. Imagine our disappointment when we found them completely tasteless. Each one, seemed worse than the last. The blacks, however, devoured them with gusto that reminded us of American pickaninnies back home attacking their beloved watermelon.[50]

> It is easy in Africa
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> . . . to see where our American negro gets his love of jazz and syncopation. No rhythmical work, such as paddling or poling is accomplished without one or two drums to beat the tempo and preferably with a lusty baritone to chant an accompaniment.[51]

In light of the above, the view presented within the six articles appearing in National Geographic Magazine during the decade 1931-1941 relevant to peoples and societies of Black Africa should be obvious. The view is not objective, nor is it representative of a total picture of Black Africa. It is a titillating glimpse of exotic heathens.

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[50] Boulton, "Timbuktu and Beyond," p. 647.

[51] Thaw and Thaw, "Trans-Africa Safari," p. 342.

CHAPTER II

CONSIDERATION OF ARTICLES FROM THE POST-GHANAIAN INDEPENDENCE ERA, 1957-1967

Introduction

The Western perception of Africa during the decade from 1957-1967 was clearly in a state of transition as was the African continent itself. Both changes were given impetus by Ghana's declaration as an independent nation on March 6, 1957. In the ten year period that followed, a number of other African countries, as part of the transition, declared themselves independent also. During this period, forty articles appeared in the National Geographic Magazine about Africa. Twenty of the articles presented discussions on themes not relevant to Black African culture; animals (7), archeological anthropology (3), topography (1), Egypt (4), Ethiopia (1), and the Sahara Desert region (4).

The following twenty articles contained major or minor discussions on Black African culture.

1957

Tay and Lowell Thomas, Jr., "Flight to Adventure," National Geographic 112, No. 1 (July 1957): 49-112.

Treatment of the cultures of the Bambuti "Pygmies," the Tuaregs, the Watussi, the Wagenia, and the Masai.

1959

Jeanette and Maurice Fiévet, "Beyond The Bight of Benin," NG 116, No. 2 (August 1959): 221-253.

Brief treatment of the various cultures of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

1960

Anne Eisner Putnam, "My Life With Africa's Little People," NG 117, No. 2 (February 1960): 278-302.

Substantial treatment of the "Pygmies" of the Ituri Forest with mention of their Bantu 'masters'.

Nathaniel T. Kenney, "Africa: The Winds of Freedom Stir a Continent," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 303-359.

Brief mention of cultural aspects of the Bantu, Fanti, Ashanti, Zulu, Ndebele, Masai, and Kikuyu.

NG Editorial Staff, "New Portrait of Africa's Changing Face," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 360-361.

Summary of Africa's political and territorial changes.

George and Jinx Rodger, "Where Elephants Have the Right of Way," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 363-389.

Mention of the Dodoth, Labwor, Napore, and Karamojong cultures of Uganda.

1961

Volkmar Wentzel, "Angola, Unknown Africa," NG 120, No. 3 (September 1961): 348-383.

Brief treatment of Angola's various peoples and their cultures.

1962

Howard La Fay, "Freedom's Progress South of the Sahara," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 603-637.

Mention of the Masai and political changes for Burundi, Ruanda, and Rhodesia.

NG Editorial Staff, "New Africa, From Cape to Congo," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 638-639.

Statements summarizing Africa's political changes.

Kip Ross, "South Africa Close-Up," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 641-681.

Mention of the cultural aspects of South African people.

1963

Louis S. B. Leakey, "Adventures in the Search for Man," NG 123, No. 1 (January 1963): 132-152.

Brief mention of the Mfangano of Kenya.

Alfred Friendly, "Africa's Bushman Art Treasures," NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 848-865.

Substantial treatment of the Bushman's art and his culture.

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, "Bushman of the Kalahari," NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 866-888.

Substantial treatment of the Kalahari Bushman's culture.

1964

Volkmar Wentzel, "Mozambique: Land of the Good People," NG 126, No. 2 (August 1964): 197-231.

Brief treatment of Mozambique's various peoples and their cultures.

Sargent Shriver, "Ambassadors of Good Will," NG 126, No. 3 (September 1964): 297-313.

Very brief mention of African cultures of Ghana, Tanganyika, and Gabon.

1965

Melvin M. Payne, "The Leakeys of Africa," NG 127, No. 2 (February 1965): 194-231.

Very brief mention of the Kikuyu and the Masai.

1966

John Scofield, "Freedom Speaks French in Ouagadougou," NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 153-203.

Brief mention of the cultural aspects of the people of Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, the Cameroons, Chad, Niger, Mali, and Guinea.

NG Editorial Staff, "Mosaic of New Nations Changes the Face of Northwestern Africa," NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 204-205.

Brief statement of political progress (independence) in Northwestern Africa.

Oscar Luz, "Proud Primitives, The Nuba People," NG 130, No. 5 (November 1966): 673-699.

Substantial treatment of the Nuba and their culture.

1967

Luis Marden, "Madagascar: Island at the End of the Earth," NG 132, No. 4 (October 1967): 443-487.

Treatment of the peoples and cultures of Madagascar.

Dr. Louis S. B. Leaky, born in Kenya, was a British anthropologist, archaeologist, and paleontologist. He received his Ph.D. degree from Cambridge University, writing his thesis on Kenya in the Stone Age. He has taught at several universities, among them St. John's College and the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Leaky is probably most famous for his fossil discoveries of the Proconsul, the Kenyapithecus, the Zinjanthropus, and the Homo Habilis. These finds were important in the sense that they placed man's origin in Africa, not Asia, and extended the date of man's appearance on the earth by over a million years. In addition to his articles for scientific journals and encyclopedias, Dr. Leaky has written many books especially on his diggings of the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania. He has also authored a book of grammar for the Kikuyu language.

Sargent Shriver is best known for his appointment by President John F. Kennedy as the director of the Peace Corps. Shriver has served as an attorney, a World War II naval officer, and as a journalist as an assistant editor for Newsweek Magazine. Involved in the enterprises of Joseph P. Kennedy, father of President Kennedy, he was appointed assistant general manager of Kennedy's Merchandise Mart in Chicago. From 1956 to 1960 he served as president of the Chicago Board of Education. In 1960, during the Presidential campaign, Shriver served as an important advisor

to J. F. Kennedy. Shriver, in the early days of the new administration formulated the initial plans for the Peace Corps. He was appointed director of that organization on March 4, 1961.

Lowell Thomas, Jr., is the son of the notable radio and television commentator Lowell Thomas. Lowell Thomas, Jr.'s accomplishments include being an Alaskan state senator, author and lecturer. He has served as a cameraman and photographer for numerous projects. He and his wife have written of and filmed their expeditions in their small private plane, to Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Mr. Thomas has served as producer of the film series "Flight to Adventure," NBC-TV; producer and writer of the film series "High Adventure," 1957-59; producer of the documentary film "King of Alaskan Seas," and numerous other film documentaries. Some of his publications are: The Silent War in Tibet, 1959; The Dalai Lama, 1961; The Trail of Ninety-Eight, 1961; and Famous First Flights that Changed History, 1968.

Alfred Friendly has distinguished himself in the field of news correspondence. He has served as a reporter for the Washington Daily News and as a reporter and editor for the Washington Post. From 1949-1952 he served as Washington correspondent for the London Financial Times. He was the recipient of the Pulitzer prize for international reporting in 1968. He has authored The Guys on the Ground, 1944 and co-authored Crime and Publicity, 1967.

Melvin Payne, John Scofield, and Luis Marden have all served as staff members for the National Geographic Magazine.

John Scofield has served as editorial assistant, news editor, and associate editor of The American Rifleman Magazine. Many of his articles

and photographs have appeared in the National Geographic Magazine.

Luis Marden is a notable journalist, free-lance writer and photographer. He has produced a number of documentary films. He is the author of numerous articles and a book, Color Photography with the Miniature Camera, 1934.

Since the articles of Chapter Two present discussions on the same subject matter as those of Chapter One, the topic headings for the discussions will remain the same. Information contained in the discussions will be derived only from the twenty articles under consideration.

Royalty and Government

The topic of Royalty and Government is given treatment in twelve of the twenty articles considered in this chapter. Three unsigned articles are written by the editorial staff of the National Geographic Magazine. Other contributors are: Jeanette and Maurice Fiévet (husband and wife), Nathaniel Kenney, George and Jinx Rodger, Kip Ross, Howard La Fay, Volkmar Wentzel, Sargent Shriver, John Scofield, and Luis Marden.

Only four of the articles mention anything about royalty or kingship, the eight other articles' main focus is government; the many countries' acquisition of independence and the political, economic, and social changes that accompany it. Concerning those transitions, the editors of the National Geographic Magazine tell us in 1960 that ten years before (1950) a map of Africa would have shown only four sovereign nations --Ethiopia, Liberia, the Union of South Africa, and Egypt--out of Africa's more than 60 territorial units and that a map of 1960 showed 19 newly independent nations, an average of nearly two per year. Former portions

of French Equatorial Africa--Chad, Ubangi-Shari, and the Middle Congo are presently one unit, the Union of Central African Republics. Some confusion has been caused by the Belgian Congo's choice of the same name ". . . as its neighbor state across the river . . . ."[1] In order to distinguish the two, some maps may show the newly independent territory as the Republic of the Congo. New states of Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia have not undergone a name change with their newly acquired freedom, as some nations have. Former French Guinea has simply become Guinea, and former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has become just Sudan. Egypt and Syria merged together and were known as the United Arab Republic during the period under consideration.

In the year 1962, the editors tell us that

> in the past year alone, Tanganyika and Uganda achieved independence from Britain, and former Belgian-administered Trust Territory of Ruandi-Urundi split into the nations of Rwanda and Burundi.[2]

Summing up the scene they say; "reflecting the political upheavals of today a dozen . . . [new nations] have recently gained, or are about to gain independence."[3] Many others though, remain under the colonial rule of European powers.

By 1966 the editors reported that twenty-three former colonial possessions had gained independence. The Spanish Sahara, Portuguese colonies, along with a few other scattered Spanish and French holdings were the only

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[1] "New Portrait of Africa's Changing Face," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 360.

[2] "New Africa from Cape to Congo," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 638.

[3] Ibid.

remaining possessions of European holdings in Northern Africa.

> . . . sixteen nations have emerged from former French possessions. British holdings have dissolved into five new states; Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Sudan and the Gambia, . . . Once-Italian Libya and the former Belgian Congo complete the roster of newcomers here.[4]

Such is the picture of Africa given by the editors of the National Geographic Magazine in three different years; 1960, 1962 and 1966.

The Fiévets, in their contribution to this discussion, inform us only that Nigeria is scheduled to become independent in 1960.

Kip Ross tells us that in January 1959 villagers from the various cultures throughout the Cameroons gathered in Yaoundé to celebrate the newly acquired independence of their nation. Present were various types of dancers. Some of the dancers wore "wasp-nest globes surmount sculptured head-dresses of Cameroun independence. . .; crocodiles support/ed/ the globes."[5] This is the extent of Ross's contribution to this discussion.

La Fay gives us a short history of the events that led up to the acquisition of independence for Ruanda and Burundi. Centuries ago the Tutsi, tall aristocrats growing to heights of seven feet, migrated southward with their lyre-horned cattle and took the local Hutu as serfs. The Hutu of Ruanda rebelled in 1959. The rebellions, that ruined thousands of dwellings, were successful in driving their former overlords out of the territory. By mid-1962 140,000 Tutsi in bordering territories posed a threat of warfare between themselves and their former serfs. Out-

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[4]"Mosaic of New Nations Changes the Face of Northwestern Africa," NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 205.

[5]Nathaniel Kenney, "Africa: The Winds of Freedom Stir a Continent," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 315.

siders (Europeans) were outnumbered six to one by a combination of the Hutu and the Tutsi. The Belgians relinquished the trusteeship of the two territories on July 1, 1962, thus the Republic of Ruanda and the Kingdom of Burundi became independent.

La Fay also tells us that in (Northern) Rhodesia the government is implementing an ". . . official policy of 'racial partnership'. The federal government is desegregating post offices, armed forces, state railways, and the civil service."[6] Finally he relates that African Nationalists of Rhodesia and Nyasaland are demanding immediate independence for the two territories.

Wentzel tells us only of a political organization known as the Mozambique Liberation Front and that it is pressuring Portugal to relinquish political control of its colony, Mozambique. Headquarters for the organization is located in the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Luis Marden tells us that on October 14, 1958, the island of Madagascar became independent. No longer a French colony, it became the Malagasy Republic. French domination over the island had lasted for 63 years. The first president of the republic was His Excellency M. Philbert Tsiranana. This is Marden's only contribution to the discussion.

George and Jinx Rodger, speaking of royalty, tell us that a Ugandan King is honored annually with a lengthy festival to honor his enthronement. Winyi IV, who embraces Christianity, is ruler of some 130,000 subjects. His daughters are clad in special blue gowns for the occasion.

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[6]Howard La Fay, "Freedom's Progress South of the Sahara," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 619.

He and his courtiers dress traditionally for an enactment of his coronation wearing special russet robes fashioned from pounded bark. During his coronation, the king sits on a dais made of sixty leopardskins. This is the only bit of information contributed to the discussion by George and Jinx Rodger.

Kenney offers a modest amount of information on the president of Ghana and Chief Boateng II.

In Ghana the president is honored by an event known as a durbar. At the event chiefs and followers are present to greet and honor the paramount chief, the president. The durbar derives its name from India and predates the colonial days during which time the British occupied the country. Ghana was known as the Gold Coast during British colonization prior to regaining her independence in 1957.

Nana Akuamoah Boateng II is the paramount chief of the Western Ashanti. Finally, Kenney tells us that

> adorned with gold-encrusted diadem and shaded by a red umbrella, the chief rides a palaquin borne about the durbar field by his retainers. He speaks to lesser people only through his 'linguists'. Designs representing clans are woven into his silk-and-cotton robe.[7]

Shriver tells us that the paramount chief of the Wassaw culture of Ghana is chief Nana Anyane Buandum III. He presides in the town of Asankranangwa. The chief may only be spoken to through his linguists. The Chief's throne is made of leopard-skin. Finally he tells us that the King's agents carry staffs tipped with solid gold carvings.

Scofield informs us that in Rey Bouba tradition maintains the same type of life that has existed there for centuries. The Monarch of Rey

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[7]Kenney, "The Winds of Freedom," p. 312.

Bouba, Lamido, resides in a large structure with walls constructed of a mud and millet mixture. The monarch is a large man, standing six feet, three inches tall and weighs nearly 300 pounds. He has several hundred courtiers and servants, and numerous wives. Ruler of a kingdom approximately the size of Belgium, he is the sole master and owner of some 40,000 subjects and their possessions. He also

> . . . maintains an elaborate court with Ministers of War and Justice, a High Constable, a Health Agent called, Akoa Nombo--literally, 'clerk of fecal matter'--and a land of pride, where streets are swept daily by old women bent double over foot-long brushes of grass.[8]

His subjects always address him while lying prostrate, not daring to look at him.

Francios Tombalbaye's face, president of Chad, bears cicatrization that identifies him as a Sara from the southern agricultural portion of the country.

> Mission-educated Tombalbaye, who wears custom-tailored Paris suits--and wears them well--had never seen a white man until he was five or six. He and his fellow Sara constitute a minority possessing most of the nation's pitifully little wealth and education.[9]

Summing up the transition in Africa during this period, Scofield tells us that Africans today do all of the things that people of Western countries do; they go to school, work and play and vote. Independent African countries aspiring and working for a better life face many obstacles; an oppressive climate, poor soil, disease-bearing fresh-water snails, tsetse flies and undeveloped natural resources. Their agricultural methods are crude and the need for modern manufacturing methods

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[8] John Scofield, "Freedom Speaks French in Ouagadougou," NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 161.

[9] Ibid., p. 167.

vis-à-vis simple handcrafts are a necessity. ". . . across all Africa, yesterday clashes with today as emerging peoples, short of skills, money and resources strive to walk the hard road to nationhood."[10]

History

Contributors to the historical discussion are the Thomases, Putnam, Leakey, Friendly, Luz, Marden, and La Fay. The historical information from the authors is primarily incidental and may very adequately be labeled non-substantive.

Marden relates that the population of Madagascar is multi-ethnic and that many of its people are bilingual. The Malagasy language conveys its meaning through the use of metaphors and poetic imagery, very much like Polynesian vernaculars. Albeit the people of the island are separated into seventeen major groups and their appearance varies from African to Asian, they all speak one language, with very few differences. The polysyllabic language combines whole phrases into extremely lengthy words. Foreigners find the language very difficult to master. They consider themselves the only true Afro-Asians. The origins of the people are principally Asian with some evidence of African and Arab influences. The people call themselves the Malagasy.

> The highland Malagasy, though close to Africa, are not of it. They call themselves Malayo-Polynesians, and their ancestors came, according to linguistic, cultural, and anthropological evidence, from somewhere in Southern Asia. How and when they came to Madagascar is one of the major enigmas to the 'Mysterious Island'.[11]

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[10] Ibid., p. 155.

[11] Luis Marden, "Madagascar: Island at the End of the Earth," NG 132, No. 4 (October 1967): 447.

The Mahafaly are of possible Arab and African ancestry and reside in the southern most portion of the huge island, in arid grazing lands. The Mahafaly calculate wealth by the size of cattle herds. Marden's contribution to this discussion ends here.

Luz informs the reader that the Nuba people inhabit the Nuba mountains in Central Sudan which affords them an ample water supply and serves as their refuge. History tells us that the Nuba fled from Arab attacks that persisted through the 19th century. Today 50,000 Nuba live among the valleys, split into roughly 50 groups of approximately 1,000, whose vernaculars and customs are very diversified. Among the mountains two different types of these people live, and in close proximity to one another. One type is called the Masakin Qisar--the "short Masakin" and the other the Masakin Tiwal, the "tall Masakin." Concluding his contribution he tells us that the short Masakin live in seven villages on the southern fringe of the region known as Tadora, Reikha, Tosara, Tamuri, Tosobi, Taballa, and Buram.

Leakey's only contribution to the discussion of cultural history is mention of the fact that the Mfangano of Kenya were at one time residents of the mainland, but fled to the islands of Lake Victoria for refuge from tyrannical kings, and that their livelihood is made primarily by fishing.

Putnam tells us that a very curious bond exists between the Pygmies and their taller masters, the Bantu.

> The strangest part of this feudal relationship lies in the absence of oppression or cruelty sometimes found in such social systems. Violence did play a part, however, in the early 18th century, beginning long before Europeans arrived in central Africa. In those

> days intertribal wars were encouraged by the Arabs, who invaded the interior in search of ivory, used captured natives to carry tusks to the coast, and sold them as slaves to trafficers in human flesh. Many Pygmies were involved in these wars.[12]

The origin of the Pygmies is a mystery, but it is believed that their home has been the forest for hundreds of years. The Pygmies are mentioned in both Egyptian and Greek literature and art. Anthropologists believe them to be the first central African humans. "The Greeks, in fact, coined the word pygmaius, indicating the distance from elbow to knuckles--the Greek notion of a Pygmy's height."[13] The Pygmies' height usually varies anywhere between four and five feet.

> These descendants of an ancient race whose origins baffle anthropologists, . . . /are/ brick-brown hunters who survive with a few crude weapons, courage, and a reluctance to worry about tomorrow.[14]

The Pygmies' racial origin is an enigma. Physical anthropology authorities agree that they are not "Negroes". The Bantu agree, as they believe the Pygmies are not human. The author tells us that the Pygmies' feelings for the Bantu are the same, ". . . privately call/ing/ their towering neighbors banyma--meaning 'animal people'."[15]

The Thomases advise us that the Tuaregs were at one time masters of the Sahara until their power was broken by the French at the start of this century.

> Fearless and bloodthirsty, they fought with lance, sword and antelope-hide buckler long after their ancient enemies, the Arabs, had taken firearms. Some Tuaregs staged uprisings as late as 1940.
>
> Hard manual labor dishonors these 'people of the veil'. 'Shame

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[12]Anne Eisner Putnam, "My Life With Africa's Little People," NG 117, No. 2 (February 1960): 282.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 283.

[15]Ibid., p. 282.

> enters with the plow', say the tribal nobles. Much of the time they wander through the desert, bleeding camels and goats and escorting caravans. They hold Negro farmers in virtual peonage, taking a lion's share of their harvest. A 'hamitic' people, the Tuareg are related to the Berbers and the ancient Egyptians. Their white skins seldom show white, for they rarely bathe, and the blue dye of veils and robes rubs off like carbon paper. Though Moslems, Tuareg men do not require their women to veil.[16]

This concludes the Thomases' contribution to this discussion.

Friendly informs his readers that the art work the Bushmen left behind indicate that they were survivors of the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. Indications are that the Bushmen have no tradition of coming from somewhere else and hence their origin is Africa. "The Bushmen were in Southern Africa long before the white man, and before the arrival of Negroid tribes. . . ."[17]

> The process of exterminating the Bushmen went on for about 200 years. The last refuge for some groups was in Drakensberg, lying in part of the Basutoland of today. The last organized resistance there was in the 1860's, with a few lonesome and fugitive holdouts shot there as late as 1890. Other groups moved into the Kalahari, that howling wasteland stretching from Bechuanaland through parts of the Republic of South Africa and on into South West Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and Angola. Their descendants are there today.[18]

This is the extent of Friendly's contribution.

La Fay tells us that the Masai warriors are cattle herders.

> These tall warrior tribesmen, whose fighting prowess protected them from the slave traders, migrated--possibly from the Nile Valley to the north--centuries ago to pasture their treasured flocks in East Africa's verdant uplands.[19]

This concludes La Fay's contribution and brings the discussion of history to a close.

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[16]Tay and Lowell Thomas, Jr., "Flight to Adventure," NG 112, No. 1 (July 1957): 69.

[17]Alfred Friendly, "Africa's Bushmen Art Treasures," NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 853.

[18]Ibid., p. 854.

[19]La Fay, "Freedom's Progress," p. 631.

Religion and Initiation

Included within the discussion of religion and initiation, marriage, superstition, magic, and death will be treated also. These last four subjects, though it is not always evident, usually have a basis in religion in all African cultures. The entries are fairly informative, but substantial coverage of the subjects would require much more information. Contributors to the discussion are the following authors; the Fiévets, Putnam, Wentzel, La Fay, Thomas, Scofield, Luz, and Marden.

Marden tells us that both Protestant Christianity and Catholicism are embraced by the people of Madagascar. Most of the highlanders are Protestants. Catholicism has its strength in the southern portion of the island. Though the formal religions are alive, the old beliefs are not dead. Christianity and Catholicism are mixed with their previous religious thoughts and practices. The Malagasy believe in a single diety called Andriamanitra, the perfumed Lord or Zanahary. They also believe that their ancestors are able to act as mediators with their God if they pray to them and make sacrifices to them. It is thought that ancestors can dictate health, wealth, and fertility of their descendants.

> This reverence for ancestors, and the sense of their nearness even after death, explain the preoccupation with death, the tombs built half below and half above ground, and the rejoicing with which the ancestors are taken up into the sunlight periodically.[20]

The Malagasy, so as not to leave their ancestors naked, open tombs periodically and wrap the dead in fresh silken lambamenas (shawls). When the tombs are opened, singing and dancing are part of the ritual. Coming

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[20]Marden, "Madagascar," p. 454.

from the tombs back to the village, the people sing, dance, and toss the body up into the air and catch it again. This is a joyous occasion, for the living are being reunited with their ancestors. Cattle are sacrificed while the body is lying under a special cover and then after more celebration the body is taken back to its tomb where it lies for another four or five years, until the next turning of the dead, or famadihana.

The worst thing that could ever happen to a Malagasy is not to have his skull lie beside those of his ancestors. If one were to die some distance from his home, his relatives are obligated to bring his body back so that he will be able to share his ancestors' resting place.

When a person does die, his tomb is attended by the Mpanandro, or astrologer who recites

> O you who rest in this place, we come to tell you that tomorrow, when the Eye of Day is half along its course, we will take you and lead you to the Land of Ancestors, where you will lie forever with your family. Therefore be not absently gazing at yourself in the spring, nor captive to the charms of the valley; be at the meeting place upon the hour.[21]

Marden continues. In the village of Anivorano Nord the people periodically commune with their ancestors who were transformed into crocodiles by a wizard. They offer the crocodiles sacrificial Zebu meat during the ritual feeding.

> Long ago, the worshippers say, a village stood where the sacred lake now lies. When a passing stranger asked for a drink of water the villagers all refused him, except for one kindly woman. The wayfarer warned his benefactor to leave; after her departure, a cataclysm submerged the community and

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[21] Quoted by Luis Marden, p. 454.

> the people were transformed into crocodiles. Today descendants of the woman who escaped live in a village a mile from the lake. When one of them falls ill, or a bride finds herself barren, the other villagers implore their crocodilian folk to intercede with Zanahary, the Malagasy diety, in behalf of the unfortunate person.[22]

Marden's contribution ends here.

Putnam advises her readers that a superstition called bolozi or evil eye is very much a part of the Pygmy culture.

> . . . it--is a deadly serious matter. Difficult . . . to comprehend, a person can 'have' a bolozi or can 'be' one. You can, for example, be a good person, but if a bolozi comes into your body, there is nothing you can do about its transforming you into a wicked one. It will build a house in your stomach and tell you to do things you ordinarily never would do. You can argue with it, but still you do what it tells you.
>
> Some persons have a bolozi without knowing it; others know they have it and are deliberately evil. These latter are supposed to have such strong 'medicine' that they can effectively will another person to die.[23]

The author continues. Pygmies utilize the wooden hearts of esuru trees to make what they term powerful magic. Finally, the author tells us that in order to make a dog better at hunting, Pygmies may boil the whittlings of a lingupa vine and pour the brew into its nostrils.

The Fiévets contribute the following information. In the Yoruba culture, artists are thought to have magical powers. Also, talented Yoruba sculptors are expected to perform duties as soothsayers in addition to their sculpturing skills.

When twins are born to a Yoruba mother, a community medicine man usually sculptures two foot high statuettes or ibejis, representing the

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[22]Marden, "Madagascar," p. 465.

[23]Putnam, "My Life," p. 289.

infants. These are safeguarded by the mother. In the event one twin dies, one of the figurines is returned to its creator, the medicine man, in whose care it has potential magical energies. One might ask it questions, offer it animal sacrifices or utilize it for other magical needs.

In the Cameroons, among the Mandara Mountains there lies a society with people who practice iron working in a region called Sukur. The chief of the ironsmiths is also a diviner, a magician. The elderly man has a beard and a head of hair that is completely white. This man is also able to read pebbles which are usually tossed into the air and allowed to fall to the ground. He interprets the pattern of the fallen pebbles. The ironsmiths are greatly feared among these people, as they are also undertakers.

The Fiévets speak of initiation among the Fulani, who practice a ceremony known as a sharo, usually in secrecy, which is a test of endurance for young men. The youths beat each other with sticks, usually about an inch in diameter, and are to show no emotion, even though the flogging raises large welts on the recipient.

> To control their expressions, some contestants hold thorns in their mouths; with these they prick their lips, probably to distract their attention from one point of pain to another. At arm's length they also hold a mirror adorned with ostrich feathers. In this they watch their facial appearance.
>
> Meantime, the victim's friends are encouraging him. Girls caress him and wipe his forehead. The flogger throws himself at the feet of the musicians, imploring pardon.
>
> Each youth receives three blows during the sharo. The blows must be placed between the belt and the end of the spine--and woe to the flogger whose blow is not properly placed, because he will receive the same treatment from the man he has beaten. Yet the flogger must strike with all his might, showing no mercy.[24]

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[24] Jeanette and Maurice Fiévet, "Beyond The Bight of Benin," NG 116, No. 5 (May 1959): 236-9.

Oddly, the partners of the ceremony are chosen by each other at a very young age and remain companions not only for these events, but also until they marry and even after becoming parents of children. The purpose of the sharo is to put to the test young males' endurance and courage and also to toughen them to the point where they will be able to bear suffering without complaint and to prove themselves worthy of marriage. The Fiévets inform the reader that some blows delivered during the sharos have been known to inflict severe wounds and even kill the victims.

Among the Kaleri, death is a very doleful occurrence, and when it does happen the deceased is honored by his fellow villagers with five days of dancing.

The Kaleri have a reputation in some circles for being "head hunters," but the author offers an explanation for that belief. Among this culture the dead body is disinterred to read the augury of its skull. This is done by the diviner.

> Depending on the skull's sutures, the condition of the jaws and appearance of the teeth, the diviner then makes a decision. If the augury is bad, the bones are thrown into the bush. If good, the skull is placed in a fork of a tree near the deceased man's house.[25]

La Fay makes a modest contribution to this discussion. He tells us that approximately 50 percent of the people of Burundi embrace Christianity.

Among the Masai the males are allowed to marry only after they have demonstrated their courage and are considered a warrior of senior status.

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[25]Fiévet and Fiévet, "Beyond Benin," p. 233.

The author's ending contributory statement to this discussion is that the males must be courageous and strong enough to protect their spouses.

Elizabeth M. Thomas informs us that among the Bushmen, young men must prove themselves also before they are allowed to marry. In order to be eligible for marriage and formal initiation into manhood each must successfully hunt a large game animal.

For the Bushman's initiation kudu meat is boiled. The boiling meat produces a foam from which a paste is made and is rubbed into cuts made on various parts of the initiate's body. Small cuts are made between the eyes for good vision, cuts above his breastbone to insure strong lungs, and cuts on the arms and legs for accurate aiming ability and healthy legs. He may also receive cuts on one side of his chest to indicate whether or not he was initiated with a female kudu.

Polygamy, divorce and remarriage are permitted among the Kung Bushmen. Mutual consent is all that is needed to dissolve marital bonds. Bushmen consider the best polygamous situation to be one in which a man is married to sisters because it is believed that jealousy is a less likely occurrence between them.

Marriage often happens at an early age for Bushmen. In one example the boy was 17 and the girl 9. A betrothal, which is no more than an agreement between the parents, was held a year earlier. The actual marriage ceremony is very simple and so small that members of the village may not know it is taking place. No one really pays that much attention. Even though two individuals may be married, they do not live together until after the girl reaches puberty. A married Bushman may take a second wife, but usually not until after he has lived with his initial one for several years.

Thomas considers medicine men briefly. All Bushmen are considered medicine men and practice healing and curing, though some are considered more powerful than others. The power to heal comes after about an hour of dancing, and ". . . when the fire's heat and the exercise of dancing have warmed the magic medicine in the men's bodies, /they/ scream and tremble and fall to the ground in a trance."[26] Still in a trance-like state, they stagger to their feet and from one individual to the next, moaning, shrieking, and placing their hands on various parts of the person's body. The moaning is intended to draw the illness from the body and the shrieking is intended to throw the sickness to the spirits of the dead. The spirits are attracted by the dancing and ". . . hover in the air, or . . . hide just beyond the firelight, behind the dark trees."[27]

It is the Bushman's thought that the sun brings death, as it does to plants, animals, and people during the drought season. Because of this, celebrations are never held when the sun is strong. Further reason lies in a Bushman legend that elucidates how death came to the world.

> It happened, . . . when the hare had a fight with the moon. The hare argued that creatures that die should be buried, lest their corpses stink. The moon contended that creatures that die should come to life again. The hare became angry and scratched the moon's face with its claws, making marks that are there to this day. The moon split the hare's lip with a hatchet. Each had the fate it argued for; that is why the moon grows thin, dies, and comes to life again, but when a hare dies, it dies forever.[28]

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[26] Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, "Bushmen of the Kalahari," NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 888.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., pp. 884-5.

This concludes Elizabeth Thomas's contribution to the discussion.

Wentzel's contribution to this discussion are the facts that the major religions of Mozambique are Roman Catholicism and Islam. Negroes, Arabs, Portuguese, Chinese, Indians, and Greeks all worship together in the Islamic mosques of the country.

Scofield tells his readers that the Mossi of Upper Volta proudly wear their cultural and traditional cicatrization and still practice ancestor worship.

To celebrate the end of Ramadan the inhabitants of Rey Bouba gather to pledge their loyalty to their king, the Lamido.

> . . . files of girls wearing only tiny aprons and strings of yellow beads, with skins oiled to an ebony gloss, sprinkled water on the dusty parade ground before the Sara (palace). Cavalry men draped horses with quilted armor and wringled themselves into skirts of chain mail. Heralds tootled on trumpets as long as themselves, and groups--wandering minstrel-jesters whose bodies, when they die, are simply stuffed into hollow trunks of baobab trees--clowned and sang before a swelling crowd.[29]

In the northeastern portion of Mali lives one of Africa's 'purest' ancestral cultures, the Dogon people. The Dogon villagers cling tenaciously to customs and beliefs many generations old.

The author also tells us that sculpture, dance, lore, and mythology are all important parts of the Dogon culture's ceremonies of the dead. During the ceremonies, participants dance, twist, and leap into the air. Some wear costumes decorated with shells, and their masks, which are very elaborate, are held before their faces by their teeth clinched to built-in handles. Finally, the author relates that the

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[29]Scofield, "Freedom Speaks," p. 161.

ceremonies are clandestine, and are not to be viewed by females.

Luz relates that most Nuba have only one wife. One may have more, but to do so would also mean having more fields and livestock with which to support extra wives. One must also provide separate sleeping quarters for each wife.

The Nuba forbid certain types of marriage. A man, for instance, may not marry two sisters. One must also marry outside of his own clan. If these rules are disregarded, disapproval by the community would be worse than whippings or fines.

The author speaks briefly of Nuba burials. The Nuba bury their dead in a very unique manner. They dig a jugshaped grave, usually where it is easiest and the earth isn't too hard, with an entrance so narrow that diggers must enter holding their hands above their heads. They situate the dead body on a north-south axis, facing east. A flat stone is placed on the entrance and dirt is heaped on top of it. The spears of the deceased are thrust into the mound. In addition calabashes of millet and water are set atop the mound for the purpose of benefitting the dead person's spirit in afterlife. Finally, brush is put atop the mound in order to keep animals away. The Nuba do not have graveyards; each grave is situated wherever they feel it is suitable. Luz's contribution to the discussion ends here.

Dance and Music

In the discussion of dance and music the articles in general indicate that these are two important elements in all African cultures. In each culture dance and music are a part of significant events such as birth, death, marriage, harvest, fertility, and hunting. Wentzel, for

instance, tells his readers that "music and dance play vital roles in the life of the African Negro."[30] Though the authors seem to recognize the importance of the two elements, at times their treatment of them indicates that they perceive them as oddities. Wentzel, for instance, states that at ". . . night, by flickering firelight among thatched houses, I witnessed Chokwe dances of savage beauty."[31] He also tells us that he witnessed Chopi

> . . . dancers /that/ surged forward with graceful swaying motions that became fierce, warlike attacks and counter-attacks. The men leaped and whirled brandishing spears and banging oval shields on the ground.[32]

In other instances, authors seem to focus on the brilliance of the dancers' costumes. The Thomases, for instance, tell us that the dress worn by the Watussi dancers is brilliant and exciting. They are clad in colorful skirts, ankle bells, and headdresses with manes fashioned of monkey hair. The dancers make giant but agile leaps and feint battles with their spears. Statements such as these are representative of the most substantive portions of the authors' discussions and indicate their lack of insight into Black African dance and music beyond the most obvious aspects. Other contributors to the discussion are Putnam, Scofield, the Fiévets, Kenney, George and Jinx Rodger, Shriver, Luz, Elizabeth M. Thomas, and Marden.

Wentzel informs us that the Chopi are a people scattered throughout the Zandamela region of Mozambique. Their dances are accompanied by an

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[30]Volkmar Wentzel, "Angola, Unknown Africa," NG 120, No. 3 (September 1961): 361.

[31]Ibid., p. 380.

[32]Volkmar Wentzel, "Mozambique: Land of the Good People," NG 126, No. 2 (August 1964): 198.

orchestra of marimbas. The warriors, clad in lionskins decorated with monkey tails, leap high in the air with their arms outstretched. The women are dressed in raffia grass skirts and beads. As the dancing languishes singing begins to a tune played with sticks on an instrument with hardwood keys.

A number of the peoples of Mozambique play the mbira, an instrument with strips of metal on a wooden panel mounted on either a gourd or a hollowed piece of wood serving as a resonator. The pieces of metal are plucked with the fingers to make music.

The Makonde perform a dance in which the dancers, or mapicos wear painted masks carved from solid wood. The mapicos dance in stomping and swaying motions, and leaping steps. The onlooking crowd participates as well by feigning terror and in the end pretending to chase the mapicos back to the hut from which they came. Wentzel informs us that the dancers are clad in long, loose, vivid, red and yellow clothing. Feindish masks cover their faces.

Finally he writes that the men of the Baluba people work in the diamond mines of Angola and that the instruments utilized to accompany their dances are xylophones and drums.

The Thomases advise us that the Magbettu of the Congo, during one of their dances, wear red feathered headdresses and loincloths made of bark and animal skins. They shuffle in the dust from one side to another and jingle the tiny bells they have attached to their wrists and toes. In addition, the warriors thrust their spears to the sky.

Like all African people Pygmies enjoy song and dance. To establish a beat one Bambuti Pygmy may tap on a hollowed-out piece of wood with a

pair of sticks while others may pick it up with clapping and singing. Dance may follow with participants bending toward and leaping away from a central campfire while their steps maintain a creative dance pattern. This is the extent of the Thomases' treatment of dance and music.

Marden contributes only a modest amount of information to the discussion. Troubadours who play along the rice terraces on Madagascar make their own instruments out of bark, gourds, hides, and wood. Three of the instruments they play are the ampongalahy drum, the stringed vaciha and a gourd-like instrument, the jejy. This is the extent of Marden's treatment of dance and music.

Elizabeth M. Thomas offers the following information on this subject. Musical instruments are as important to Bushmen as they are to all other African cultures. One such instrument is called a gaushi, which is made from a hollow log and has five sinew strings.

If the Bushmen are to avoid misfortune, they must communicate with the spirits of the dead. It is the only way to avoid such things as disease, death, and hunger. Nightfall is the time when they call the spirits and curse them for their doings. During this time, dance usually takes place. Men dance only, while the women provide a musical background of clapping and wordless singing in falsetto. Attached to the dancers' legs are cocoons filled with ostrich shell fragments.

> The voices play one against the other in a variety of patterns at counterpoint with the clapping and the rhythmic stamping of the dancers. The clapping and the hard, dry shake of the rattles make varied rhythms of their own, so that the sound of a dance, while enormously precise and intricate, emerges as a musical whole, like the music of an orchestra, yet with variations often too subtle for detection by an untrained ear.

> Bushmen do not need, and do not enjoy, a heavy, simple, unifying beat. They have no drums or other percussion instruments except rattles at dances--only their ears and legs and hands and voices, and their extraordinary delicate control.[33]

This concludes Thomas's discussion of dance and music.

Luz tells the reader that various musical instruments accompany the dancing and singing at the sanda festivals of the Nuba people. Two such instruments are the five-stringed guitar-like instrument known as a benembenes, and an instrument modeled from a combination of kudu horn and beeswax.

The children of the Masakin play with a musical toy called the humming whip which is made of a rope with a narrow shingle and swung in an arch above the head. A soft buzzing sound is produced. Incidentally, children live with their parents up until the age of five to seven years, at which time they are adopted by their mother's brother, their uncle, and continue living with him until adulthood. The arrangement is one of the Masakin cultural mores. It is one of the reasons familial bonds among the Masakin are so strong. Older children babysit their younger brothers and sisters voluntarily; they don't have to be told. The young Masakin lives a very happy life. This is the extent of Luz's contribution.

Shriver advises the reader that when the women of Gabon dance they wear skirts and headbands of feathers. They hop to the rhythmical beat of drums and the clicking of bamboo sticks being hit together.

Bwiti feasts are initiated by the pounding of drums and are brought to a close with palm wine. Sometime during the feast most of the women

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[33]Thomas, "Bushmen," p. 888.

go into a trance. Finally, he informs the reader that fire dances may also be a part of the feast.

George and Jinx Rodger tell us that when the Dodoth dance, they form a ". . . tight circle, chanting a deep rhythm, and those in the center . . . jump vertically, keeping their bodies rigid and propelling themselves with only a flick of the feet."[34] This bit of information is the author's only contribution.

Kenney's contribution is minute. He tells us that the green, black, red, and white beads of a Zulu maiden, during her dance at a wedding feast, spell out a message to the man of her selection. The Zulus stamp fiercely when they dance, and the Bacas do a step while wearing gum boots.

The Fanti who build high-prowed boats are fishermen of coastal Ghana. They dress in togas fashioned of cotton cloth and their music, accompanied by ". . . throbbing drums,. . . sing their ancient songs of birth, death, food and fertility."[35] This ends Kenney's contribution.

The Fiévets advise us that the people of the Mada culture are neighbors of the Kaleri and may sacrifice chickens or goats during some of their ceremonies. The performers who dance as gods during the ceremonies wear colorful elaborate costumes. Their masks may be sisal cowls, or they may wear a moneky-fur shako with pom poms of dyed cotton dangling from their necks. They usually carry horse tail whisks to shoo away flies.

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[34]George and Jinx Rodger, "Where the Elephants Have the Right of Way," NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 389.

[35]Kenney, "Africa: The Winds of Freedom," p. 307.

Among the Cameroons, the village of Banso has a bamboo and calabash instrument known as a gidigos, which is very similar to a marimba.

An algaita is a Nigerian trumpet-like instrument made of wood and metal. Finally, the Fievets tell us that players of the instrument may attach good luck talismans to it.

Scofield informs us that Méri maidens celebrate a betrothal by a special dance. To make rhythmic music they bind bells to their legs and waists.

To say that African people enjoy music and dance would be an understatement. Music and dance are a very important part of all African cultures. Among many cultures children improvise movements to drum beats, a mirimbalike instrument--the balafon, and castanets that are worn on the wrist. This ends Scofield's contribution.

Putnam tells us that the Ituri Pygmies love dance and often perform far into the night. Dances are usually started by a Pygmy elder who sets a rhythm on a drum. While the music builds the other performers usually exchange jokes. The young men wear breechcloths covered with leaves to indicate their joy.

Elephant dances may precede an actual hunt to work magic or follow one to celebrate bravery. The dances depict the actual hunt. Elephant slayers enjoy the status of a hero, because to kill an elephant is to pass the highest test of valor. Not all Pygmies possess such nerve. Chanting, shouting, and drums accompany the elephant dance.

The Ituri forest Pygmies make no drums of their own but usually acquire them from the Bantu. They seem to grasp rhythms so easily that many of their tempos are borrowed by their Negro neighbors. They are very accomplished at using their voices as instruments. Finally, they

often sing in harmony and in rounds.

Crafts and Occupations

The articles in general mention a variety of crafts and occupations that may be found in African cultures. The articles also indicate, as did the same discussion in Chapter One, that even when specific crafts or occupations are not developed within a particular culture that each culture nonetheless possesses the skills needed to sustain itself. Contributors to the discussion are the Thomases, Wentzel, Luz, Kenney, George and Jinx Rodger, the Fiévets, Putnam, Shriver, Scofield, Friendly, La Fay, Leakey, Marden, Ross, and Elizabeth M. Thomas.

Wentzel advises us that the men of the Kuvale culture never eat fish or anything that lives in the water. They are cattle herders and reside in the Chela mountain region. Many of them wear strings of beads around their neck ". . . these primitive people measure their wealth in livestock."[36]

The Kaunyama and the Kuissi are cattle herders too. The Kaunyama wear little or no clothing at all. Kuissi build beehive-type huts with roofs of grass thatch. Not far from their huts are cattle kraals ringed with thorny branches, providing protection for the cattle from lions.

> Among the most primitive on earth, these nomads (Bushmen) hunt and gather wild honey, berries, and edible roots on the parched plains of South Central Africa. Small bands, usually family groups, occasionally have been seen. . .[37]

by the author.

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[36] Wentzel, "Angola," p. 353.

[37] Ibid.

In Angola the school classes that the villagers attend are taught in Portuguese. The Africans are very eager students with intelligence to match. Their studies are language, and history, which seems very difficult to grasp, and hygiene. The school master uses an alarm clock to time the classes and a switch with which to punish students.

Many emerging African cultures realize education to be ". . . the key to 'white man's magic'."[38] Many are engaged in educated pursuits as policemen, lathe operators, automobile mechanics, cooks, and waiters. The colonial schools of Mozambique teach both Portuguese immigrants and African children in the Portuguese language.

At Nampula's technical school, boys and girls of Mozambique's diverse cultural backgrounds prepare for careers in various crafts, home economics and agriculture. The seven year high school program prepares students for study in universities abroad, mostly in Portugal. Although many new schools are being opened, still fewer than one of ten tribesmen are literate.

The women of Mozambique usually make games of their work. While pounding kafir corn in wooden mortars, they might show off by clapping their hands while the pestle is in the air, then quickly catch it again for the downward stroke. Their grinding produces a coarse flour which is mixed with water and kneaded until it becomes a yellow dough. It is then mixed with manioc leaves in a calabash and served, usually with a palm wine called shema.

Malangatana Goenha Valente is one of Mozambique's outstanding

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[38] Wentzel, "Mozambique," p. 200.

artists. Many of his pictures, that hange in museums, depict struggle between African beliefs and European culture. The issue of witchcraft is often present in his paintings.

The Makonde are accomplished carvers, creating striking shapes and figures from hardwoods. These people live in isolation, in the center of a plateau. "Most Makonde men still carry weapons--spears, axes, bows, and arrows (no longer poison tipped), or muzzle-loaders."[39]

The Shona people gather manioc.

> Also known as cassava, manioc flourishes in poor soil, defying drought and dreaded locusts. Tropical Africans call it 'the all sufficient', converting its starchy flour into porridge, paste, soup, and sauce. 'Sweet' roots are cooked like yams. 'Bitter' ones are soaked, often for days, then sundried to remove lethal prussic acid.[40]

The Fiévets tell us that the Hausas have a sporting event known as boxing in which the

> . . . participants may strike only with the bandaged right hand, which hides a stone, or with the right foot. /The/ left leg, encircled with a chain and tinkling seed bags, must not move. Leather-bound amulets in the left hand ward off blows.[41]

This is their only contributory statement.

George and Jinx Rodger contribute the following to this discussion. "The old Africa--the continent of slaves and ivory, of colonization and big-game safaris--is giving way to a new Africa. New settlements and development schemes, men and machines, are thrusting farther and farther

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[39] Ibid., p. 216. Many of the Makonde have now migrated to coastal towns of Tanzania where, especially in Dar es Salaam, their sculpture constitutes one of the most thriving and inventive schools of modern art on the continent of Africa.

[40] Ibid., p. 217.

[41] Fiévet and Fiévet, "Beyond Benin," p. 235.

into the wild."[42] The sight of men wearing mechanic's clothes and carrying tools is a reflection of changing times and the acceleration of progress in industry. The nation of Uganda, for one, has implemented numerous apprenticeship programs to meet the expanding need for skilled labor.

In Uganda, there is a region known as the Karamoja district. It is in this district that the Karamojong, the Labwor, the Napore, and the Dodoth reside.

Though the authors provide us with information about these cultures they do not make the point that there is an important interdependence between the four peoples.

The Labwor are skilled craftsmen, the makers of spears, knives, cowbells, and metal ornaments, which they supply to their neighboring culture, the Karamojong.

The Napore are hunters. Prior to each hunt the spearmen perform a ceremony in which they bless their spears. Then, hopefully with the spirits appeased, they lose themselves in the bush in search of game. This concludes the Rodgers' discussion.

Kenney tells us that the people of the Ga culture are fishermen. Among these people a headman usually supervises what portions of fish are to be given to the women.

The Ashanti are yesterday's fierce warriors of the voo-doo ridden jungle, men who dared pit spears against firearms. Today they are prosperous cocoa growers, but still proud and not too happy about the new form of democracy.

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[42]Rodger and Rodger, "Elephants Way," p. 364

Kenney's description of the Ashanti reduces the complexity of their glorious past and present to utter simplicity. Further, to say that they are simply cocoa growers is misleading because today the Ashanti are the most highly educated of all Ghanaian peoples.[43]

Kenney tells us that Central African cultures mined copper long before the coming of the white man, casting copper into heavy crosses to be utilized as money.

Villagers residing on the Congo River live among mangrove inlets. Their houses stand over the river on stilts. The inhabitants fish from their dug outs which they park between the stilts of their suspended homes.

The Zulus, once fierce fighting men, fought losing battles with the Boers. Many of them today wear enormous colorful headdresses that advertise their services as two-wheeled rickshaw men in the Union of South Africa's town of Durban.

Again, we see the complexity and truth of a people's history, the Zulus, reduced to a simple misleading statement.[44]

The Masai are very independent people. They don't hunt, nor do they grow food; they live on the blood and milk of their cattle. Many of them wear tight multicolored beads around their throats and carry spears with four foot blades and polished hardwood shafts. Masai have

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[43]For a historical account of the Ashanti see, for instance, Michael Crowder and J. F. Ade Ajayi, History of West Africa Vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 167-261.

[44]For further historical information on the Zulus see, for instance, Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, Oxford History of South Africa Vol. 1, 1885-1905 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 334-464.

been known to kill lions with their razor sharp spears and swords. They also utilize the bow and arrow as weapons. Kenney finally tells us that the male Masai live in bachelor quarters.

Luz advises us that the Nuba hold a periodic celebration called a sanda which combines sports contests, a harvest feast, and dance and song parties to create a tumultuous event. The sandas are usually held between December 15 and January 25. Greater and lesser sandas are staged in rotation outside the Masakin villages. Whole Nuba villages attend the event which may take up to three hours to walk to. A type of beer which is very low in alcoholic content called marissa is drunk by the Masakin during the fest. Women are usually seen at the event carrying calabashes of the millet beer on their heads.

During the harvest of millet, the major crop, from which the Masakin make porridge beer, the men do the threshing while the women do the bulk of the carrying. They have been known to carry loads weighing as much as 85 pounds atop their heads. The baskets must be carried a great distance, sometimes as far as two miles, from the unharvested fields to the drying racks. The women pad their loads with grass-woven doughnut shaped cushions, nonetheless the loads are so heavy that they disfigure their skulls, causing a bump to form through the center of the cushion. It is at the age of marriage, approximately 15, that Nuba women begin to bear such burdens.

The Nuba shape bowls from a mixture of cow dung and white clay. The bowls and clay pot-ware are then fired. The clay ware is break resistant because the cow dung that is utilized is very light and supple. They also make flutes from the same clay. The skilled artisans make leather sandals from cowhide also.

The Masakin smoke either homemade pipes or ones bought from Arabs. They even maintain a special tobacco patch with square stone paths running through it to hold the soil in the event of heavy rains.

"The remarkable integrity and independence of the Nuba stem from the remoteness of their homeland, which is off the main trade-and-travel routes."[45]

The Nuba do things for one another because the need exists, not because they will receive thanks or a reward for their deed. Among them, there is no formality for such things.

The Nuba put forth no greater effort in their work than during the millet harvest. Their rainy season begins in April, and their sowing is completed by the end of May. Their light millet is cut in November and by December they begin cutting their late, or heavy millet. Following the harvest, they drive cattle into the fields for the opportunity to graze on the harvest stubble. The Nuba set fire to their dry fields to clear the land in preparation for spring planting.

> The Nuba harvest is a community project: neighbors and relatives join in reaping each man's crop, and then move on to another's. During the cutting of the crop, the owner of a particular plot does little work on his own property. He is too busy playing host--serving food, plying the harvesters with marissa, even furnishing musical entertainment. Payment of wages is unknown, but there is a heavy expense--the heavy baskets of grain consumed in brewing the beer.[46]

During the month of March, teams of chanting men flail the dried durra with special sticks. The grain is then thrown high into the air,

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[45] Oscar Luz, "Proud Primitives, The Nuba People." NG 130, No. 5 (November 1966): 684.

[46] Ibid., p. 692.

and the debris is carried off by the wind while the grain falls, cleaned and separated back into baskets.

The cattle are of poor quality because grazing following the harvest is meager, but cattle raising is secondary and is of no real concern to the Nuba. Milk is palatable to the Nuba only when sour and is reserved mainly for elderly men and wrestling champions.

Some young men and women utilize milk and butter as a skin lotion during the sanda fests. Such a luxury is hardly affordable for many.

Wrestling is one of the highlights of the sanda. A wrestler will leap into the ring, looking around for a challenger, get into a fighting stance, his elbows on his knees--and wait. Another wrestler may answer the challenge by simply entering the ring.

> In Nuba wrestling, the first to touch ground with hip or head, arm, knee, or shoulder--any part of the body other than the feet--loses.[47]

> . . . bright strips of cloth circle the wrestlers' torso, goat-skin decorates ankles and knees. His shaved head precludes hair grips; ashes reduce slipperiness and, fighters believe, give extra strength. All year the village champion does not work, but trains for the sanda. He eats a special diet of millet mush, sesame, sour milk, and honey.[48]

This concludes Luz's contribution to the discussion of crafts and occupations.

The Thomases contribute the following information to the discussion. The Bambuti Pygmies of Central Africa live in the Ituri forest and are reputed to be the world's smallest people. Their average height is four and one half feet. They practice no agriculture, but do, however, gather

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[47] Ibid., p. 698.

[48] Ibid., p. 692.

roots and seeds. One of the main reasons the Pygmies do not practice agriculture is because of their relationship with the Bantu. Although they do not eat chickens or even their eggs, chickens may be seen pecking about their villages. It is reputed that the fowl are kept for the Bambuti's masters, the Bantu. "This curious arrangement is one facet of a strange and somewhat intricate relationship between the little people and the larger Bantu of the vicinity."[49] The Bantu masters may have any number of Pygmies, although they are not considered his subjects or slaves. The Pygmies may supply their masters with fresh meat while the Bantus reciprocate by supplying the Pygmies with salt, arrow points, foodstuffs, tobacco, and other necessities. One curious thing, however, is that the Bantu masters cannot make the Pygmies serve against their will. If the Pygmies are dissatisfied with the arrangement between themselves and their present master they may abandon him only to attach themselves to another.

Weapons utilized by them are bows and arrows. In addition to their bows and arrows the Bambuti use a net to bag their prey. They trap antelope, rodents and okapi by stringing the net between trees, then surprising the animals with noisemakers while hiding in the bushes. The webbed net entangles the quarry as it tries to flee.

In the city of Goundam, close to the edge of the Sahara desert, there is a river close by that the townswomen use for the purposes of bathing, laundry and scullery.

It is estimated that approximately eleven per cent of the children

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[49]Thomas and Thomas, "Flight," p. 64.

of West Africa attend some type of school. The (Moorish) children of Goundam study exactly the same subjects as French children. Nudity is normal among Goundam's children whether Negro, Tuareg or Moor.

The Wagenia of the Congo are known as "people of the river" and virtually live in the water. They build scaffoldings hundreds of feet out into the Congo River and attach large baskets made of sticks to them in the water to catch fish. When the scaffolds are damaged by the Congo's swift current, the Wagenia wedge more poles between the riverbed rocks and secure them with lianas. The baskets are usually checked every morning for fish. These people also build canoes so long that 50 Wagenia are required to man them.

The Watussi are the world's tallest people. Many of them grow to heights over 7 feet. "Despite black skins, they are not Negroes, but come from a 'hamitic' strain."[50] The Watussi are among the most accomplished of Africans in pursuing professional fields. Many are teachers, agricultural advisors, veterinarians and nurses. The Muwami (ruler) of the Watussi has expressed distaste for the notion that his culture is nothing more than a pack of wild savages. This concludes the Thomases' contribution to the present discussion.

Leakey tells us that the Mfangano capture fish by weaving fishing booms from papyrus stalks that float on the lake. They draw the floating reeds slowly into a circle and trap their quarry, then scoop the fish from the closed coil with conical baskets woven from the same reeds. They also fish with the conventional reed rod and line.

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[50] Ibid., p. 96.

The Mfangano women are smokers of clay pipes. Finally, they also carry heavy objects on their heads cushioned with pads woven of reeds.

La Fay informs us that Burundi's most outstanding high school, equipped with facilities to enhance the educational process, is the College du Saint-Esprit. Young African air traffic controller trainees learn their jobs at Leopoldville's Ndjili Airport under the instruction of a United Nation's supervisor. The program is one of two that the UN supports to train Africans in areas in which there is a drastic need. The other program is tractor repair to aid their agricultural methods.

The cattle of the Masai are a very important part of his existence. "He eats their meat and drinks their blood; he gives each a pet name, and the finest wear tinkling bells."[51] At night he protects his cattle from harm by enclosing them and himself in a thorny stockade known as a boma. Inside of the stockade he dwells in a hut constructed of leaf wattle. La Fay's contribution ends here.

Friendly advises us that African Bushmen have left a tremendous amount of art work in rock shelters and on cave walls. His canvas was stone. His gallery of paintings and murals ". . . begins in Tanganyika and stretches down the eastern side of the continent to the Cape of Good Hope Province, then northward up to the west side of Africa."[52] The majority of the artwork is found under protective overhangings where it is not exposed to the wind and weather and probably where the Bushmen made their lodgings. The shelters are usually no more than a few yards long and a few feet in depth.

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[51]La Fay, "Freedom's Progress," p. 631.

[52]Friendly, "Bushmen Art," p. 849.

The artist's paintings depict different events in the lives of the Bushmen, himself and his people, dance, magic, religion, enemies and battles. The artist's most favorite subjects, as viewed through his paintings, seems to have been wild animals and the hunt. The Bushman's constant search for food was ostensibly his major concern.

The number of paintings left by the Bushmen are countless. Over 2,000 sites have been located in the Republic of South Africa alone, and anywhere from one to several paintings decorate each site. The actual paintings range from life-size representations to tiny figures only one inch in height.

The Bushman was primarily a hunter and gatherer with no agriculture. He had no fixed abode, as it was necessary for him to follow his migrating game. His possessions were few. His weapons and tools were made of either stone, bone, or wood. Among his few possessions were clothing and a rigging for camping, both made of animal skins. He did not domesticate animals, spun no cloth and made almost no pottery. His containers were usually gourds and shells of ostrich eggs, his jewelry usually made from the same elements.

The painters used brushes made of hair from either the tail or the mane of the black wildebeest. For very fine details, they utilized very tiny pointed pieces of bone. Antelope horns served as their paint containers. The basic colors utilized by the artists came from iron and mineral oxides. The oxides were finely ground, possibly roasted, then mixed with some liquid to bind them, probably milk, animal fat, urine or honey.

Different colors are derived from different elements; from iron,

shades of red, yellow and browns; from zinc, white; from manganese, black. Bushmen have been known to carry as many as 10 containers with different colors attached to their belts. Artists' paintings indicate that the bushmen had a mythology. This

> . . . leaves at once to Bushmen art a higher character and teaches us to look upon its products not as mere daubings of figures for idle pastime, but as a truly artistic conception of the ideas which most deeply moved the Bushman mind and filled it with religious feeling.[53]

Sometimes the artists painted on top of pictures already there, sometimes three and four different times. The reason he did this is not known. Many animals in the Bushman's paintings were often given the wrong colors. It is conjectured that this was done because ". . . the act of painting was itself potently magical, giving the painter power over his subject."[54] Accordingly, the artist would try to utilize that power to ready his victim for capture.

The Bushman's Bantu masters

> . . . are portrayed always as huge, lowering monsters--to the little Bushmen the Bantu must have seemed giants--often in black paint, carrying clubs and shields. And always the faces are stylized things, apelike on occasion, but never with an attempt at realism.[55]

Many paintings are thought to be from 300 to 800 years old, but this is not to suggest that the Bushmen did not paint hundreds of years prior to this dating. Many of the older paintings may have disappeared by now, because under exposed conditions, unlike the ancient cave paintings of Europe, the colors most probably wouldn't last more than a millennium.

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[53] Ibid., p. 857.

[54] Ibid., p. 859.

[55] Ibid.

In many of the Bushmen paintings animals are portrayed as realistically as possible, but the men are illustrated as stick people or in some other stylized form. A large number of the paintings appear to be done by men who painted for the joy of it. Some paintings portraying Bushmen show protruding buttocks, steatopygia, a physical characteristic common among present day Bushmen.

> Magnificiently adjusted to his environment, superbly qualified for the life he led, so at one with nature and the land, with the beasts and the bees and bushes which gave him his food, it is not far-fetched to think of him as a kind of perfect animal.[56]

This concludes Friendly's discussion of crafts and occupations.

Scofield's contribution to this discussion is modest. He tells his readers that the cultures of the Lake Chad region utilize the shores of the fresh water lake to nourish rich crops of millet and sorghum. The "people dam narrow inlets and pump them dry, then plant the rich alluvial bottom with millet and sorghum."[57]

Niger supports a meager population comprised of nomadic Tuareg traders and Negro farmers. Its arid lands are so parched that raindrops may evaporate before they fall to the ground.

Finally Scofield tells us that in Guinea students study the intricacies of surveying, automobile repairing and electronics at a school financed by the U. S. Agency for International Development, (AID).

Shriver contributes the following. Many Gabonese women can be seen along country roadsides making their way to jobs carrying huge baskets on their backs with straps from their foreheads supporting the loads.

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[56]Ibid., p. 865.

[57]Scofield, "Freedom Speaks," p. 166.

They plant manioc or pick pineapples on the large "plantations." They may even cut firewood or bamboo which is utilized to weave matting.

Because of the tsetse fly animals such as mules, donkeys, horses, or camels are very rare. The women bear the heavy loads that ordinarily these animals would carry. They have been known to walk for miles carrying loads weighing over a hundred pounds.

Gabon has many cultures, among them the Fang, the Banjabi, the Batsangui, and the Bapoundou. All of the cultures have their own languages, but French is the one common tongue among the 40 cultural groups. Thus, many schools are conducted in French. This is the extent of Shriver's contribution to this discussion.

Ross tells us that even though the Bantu works in a contemporary environment, he still clings to his cultural ways and customs. "Even today, he saves his wages to buy cattle, still the most acceptable currency with which to acquire a wife from a father."[58]

Many of the Bantu work under contract to mine South Africa's gold mines, the richest on earth. Bantus also work on farms, picking and packing avodados, mangoes, paw paws, bananas, and oranges. Africans coming from the simple village life may qualify to work in the diamond industry by taking simple aptitude tests with colored blocks. Ross's contribution ends here.

Marden tells us that the Malagasy women pollenate flowers during the Madagascar flowering season, from October to December, from which vanilla is derived. The island grows more than half the world's vanilla.

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[58]Kip Ross, "South Africa Close-Up," NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 645.

The melipona, a stingless bee, which normally fecundates the vanilla planifolia, flowers does not survive in Madagascar, so it must be done by hand.

The Malagasy herd Zebu, a cow that is related to an Indian strain that grunts instead of mooing and is very strong. The Zebu has a hump on its back (much like the North American Bison) which is nearly all fat. The animal is utilized by the rice farmers to trample fields before planting and to pull large loads. The Zebu is also utilized for food and sacrificial offerings. The Zebu are such an important aspect of the Malagasy culture that there are some 80 words within the language to describe them. Proud owners of bulls have been known to commit suicide over the loss of an animal.

Monkey bread is utilized for various purposes among the Malagasy. Marden's last bit of information relevant to this discussion explains that the pulpy fruit is brewed to make a beverage and the leaves and bark are utilized to make clothes, medicine, rope, and paper.

Elizabeth M. Thomas contributes the following to the present discussion. Bushmen are not warriors. They shy from quarrels and conflict and consider all non-Bushmen dangerous and rash. "This concept is illustrated by the word guma, meaning 'animal with no huffs' and used for non-Bushmen as well as for lions, leopards, and hyenas."[59]

Bushmen are often times victims of slave raids by farmers in need of laborers. The farmers bait the adults by kidnapping children, knowing that the parents will follow. Remuneration for such slave labor is meager

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[59]Thomas, "Bushmen," p. 871

and leaving the grounds of the farms is prohibited. Acts such as these are illicit, but enforcement is difficult in the vast Kalahari region. The author relates that Bushmen feel very intimidated by the Bantu, an aristocratic people who act as masters to Bushmen, and by Europeans because of their rifles and large machines.

Bushmen women have been known to carry huge loads on their backs. They have been observed on occasions carrying large pieces of firewood and a child, a combined weight of about seventy pounds.

Fire is a very important element among the Bushmen and is handled by the men only. It's a man's responsibility because women do not use fire-sticks.

> When a large group of Bushmen move to a new site, two old men kindle the first fire at a special place, apart from the skerms (houses). Everyone takes a brand from the first fire, and when all of the werf's (village's) fires are kindled, the first is allowed to go out.
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> The little ceremony seems a bow to the importance of fire, which cooks, protects, gives warmth and light, and provides a place to be; at night Bushmen do not sit in their skerms but around their fires, their hands cupped under their chins.[60]

Their belongings are usually kept in their skerms, but they prefer to sleep in the open near fires.

Staring is considered very rude among Bushmen and ruder still is an inquisition which implies suspicion.

> Trust, peace, and cooperation form the spine of the Bushmen life. The trust has its automatic aspects; the peace is sometimes clung to tightly, like a lid clamped to a boiling pot; and the cooperation of sharing is often brought about by veiled, insidious remarks: 'Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing'. Likely as not the man with the knife will thereupon give it away.

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[60] Ibid., pp. 872-3.

> By maintaining these three virtues, Bushmen live where otherwise they might not. Ill will would be intolerable in a community of five or ten people, all dependent upon each other and all residing within a few feet, perhaps in an area so remote that they would not see a new person for seasons. Uncooperativeness would be fatal to old people, sick people, women with new babies, anyone unable to make the long trips for food.[61]

Stealing is non-existent among Bushmen.

The right to dig roots, hunt, pick berries, or drink water in a particular region is only the right of Bushmen residing in that area. An outsider may do so only by gaining permission from the headman of the resident clan, but permission is seldom denied.

The arrows utilized to hunt small game are light and small with a head no larger than a thumbnail mounted on a reed shaft. The arrow is usually rubbed right behind the arrowhead with poison from a diaphidia simplex beetle pupa. The beetle pupa are usually found underneath infested marula trees. The poison is very lethal. One drop would kill a man. The arrowhead itself is made of bone and the reed shaft is structured so that it falls away, leaving only the head embedded in the victim. Bushmen, with their strong legs and extensive endurance, sometimes run down game by wearing them out until they drop from exhaustion, but usually rely on their poisoned arrows. Among Bushmen, greetings are never made while carrying their weapons, bows and arrows. To do so would be considered rude or bellicose. Husband, wife and their children constitute the basic social unit among the Bushmen. The man does the hunting and the woman gathers vegetable food.

Boys usually begin hunting while they are still toddlers. Their

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[61] Ibid., pp. 876-7.

prey are beetles and caterpillars. Later, around the age of ten, they accompany men on their hunts. Early training is usually how to keep from getting lost and how to stalk. The distended bellies of the young boys are caused by their swaybacked posture. Many of the stick figures drawn by Bushmen children are very similar to the rock art done by their ancestors found in many parts of Africa. This concludes Thomas's discussion of crafts and occupations.

Putnam is the final contributor to this discussion. She advises her readers that the Pygmies' usefulness as serfs was recognized when the Pygmies were sold to trafficers in human flesh during the 18th century. The Bantu sought to make their serf-like status permanent. The Bantu provide the Pygmies with needed metal tools and utensils. The art of forging metal is something the Pygmies have never mastered. Because of the Bantus' service, they". . . exercise certain protective rights over the Pygmies. Good will exists on both sides."[62] The Pygmies sell their Bantu masters fresh meat and are provided with a sort of security by them. The Bantu ". . . feel a sense of ownership and even 'bequeath' the useful Little People from generation to generation."[63]

In 1960 a campaign was launched by the Belgian Government to inspire self-sufficiency in the Pygmies through farming, but they simply have greater propensity for hunting than agriculture. As hunters they are treated as heroes, but as farmers they must become sedantary and labor in the sweltering sun. Farming is repulsed by the forest nomad. Pygmies have been known, however, to grow plantains, a diet staple. The plantain

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[62]Putnam, "My Life," p. 282.

[63]Ibid., p. 283.

plantations are something new, for in the old days such a thing would never be done.

The Pygmies' trade language is Kingswana, which comes from the East Congo. The language, a corruption of Swahili, was brought to the Congo by Arab slavers. "It has a grammar and can express relatively complicated ideas."[64] It is conjectured that the Pygmies once had a language of their own. If so, it was lost, because today the Pygmies speak either Kibira or Kilesi, the tongues of neighboring Negro cultures. The Pygmies speak with a unique sing-song intonation which even their neighbors do not thoroughly understand.

The Pygmies' primary hunting tools are bows and arrows, and a net, made of nkusi vine, to trap game with. The nets are a very meaningful item. Many mothers weave nets for their sons which are given to them upon marriage. The mother usually starts the net when her son is very young. The youngster shares the family net until he has his own. In the event a Pygmy transfers his portion of a net, the person it is transferred to receives a portion of the game trapped with it. Most of the Pygmies' time is spent in pursuit of game. Male Pygmies become expert hunters out of the ever present necessity for food. Pygmies move so quietly through the forest that the Bantu believe that they actually have the power to make themselves imperceptible. The hunters do not fire until they are right upon their quarry, and sometimes leap on it and either cut its throat or strangle it. For large game iron arrowheads are utilized and for smaller game such as monkeys, serrated wooden arrows are

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[64] Ibid., p. 285.

utilized tipped with poison. The poison tipped arrows are lethal within a minute.

Pygmy women carry their babies in antelope skins that are strapped to their sides. They are often seen carrying baskets of manioc on their backs ". . . supported by trumplines passing around their foreheads."[65]

The Pygmies pound fig-tree bark into cloth with ivory hammers. There are about 10 varieties of wild fig trees whose bark may be utilized for making cloth. Homemade dyes and color are added to the finished product.

Children busy themselves during the day by playing various types of games. Some play darts while others imitate hunting elders by ". . . chasing chicken/s/ into a worn-out net."[66] The girls play house and even cook real plantains. Boys and girls swing on lianas tied to tree branches and play with tops created from nuts of the forest. Beetles tied to strings provide exciting play things for some individuals. Older boys play games with the men, who swing fruit while others try to pierce it with the lances of sharpened sticks. Pygmy children are allowed to do almost anything. They can climb trees, play with sharp knives, hunt rats with bows and arrows, and fish and swim. This concludes Putnam's contribution and brings to a close the discussion of crafts and occupations.

Food, Clothing and Housing

The topics of food, clothing, and housing are mentioned incidentally

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[65] Ibid., p. 302.

[66] Ibid., p. 290.

by most of the contributors to this discussion. Luz's discussion of Masakin housing is the only substantial treatment of any of the three topics. Other contributing authors are Wentzel, Thomas, Putnam, the Fiévets, Kenney, Ross, Marden, Scofield, the Thomases, Friendly, La Fay, and Payne.

Luz tells us that the Masakin usually wear any type of garment that they may own to a sanda. Some of the Nuba (Masakin) wear the Arabian galabia. Others wear a leather belt, from which hangs a portion of colored cloth. The combination belt and cloth is not worn for cover, but for decoration. Some women's dress consists of "only a bead necklace and a narrow band of beaten bark passing between her legs and fastened to a girdle of beads."[67]

The Masakin's

> . . . castle like huts conform to centuries-old plans. The five turret dwelling of the Masakin reserves a separate room for each household activity . . . . Husband and wife live with their own families until she becomes pregnant; then he starts building the complex.
>
> Framed by an oval doorway, a woman grinds the day's ration of millet. A tined stick, anchored in the wall, substitutes for a cupboard. Calabashes, clay pots and a jam tin from the expedition's supplies clutter the flour mill.[68]

The rooftops of the huts are conical shaped. The huts are sturdily and symmetrically built on stone foundations. The walls are made of mud plaster. The five dwellings are situated such that a small courtyard is formed in the middle. Mud walls seal off the area between them and create a secure and private enclave for the family. Woven grass and boughs

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[67] Luz, "Proud Primitives," p. 682.

[68] Ibid., p. 677.

serve as a roof for the courtyard. Sunlight enters the hut through a small hole located approximately knee-or-waist-high from the ground. The main entrance to the small complex is often like a keyhole, to admit individuals carrying a load. The majority of the compounds have running water, usually located between two turrets. The running water is in the form of a shower. A large pot is the shower's reservoir and is most often cradled between a pair of antelope horns. The bather simply reaches up and tilts the water pot, located on the wall, to begin a thin streak of water from a small hole in the rim of the water holder. Working clockwise from the main entrance, the initial hut is the sleeping area for husband and wife. Chickens, goats, and pigs have their own ground level entrance and are sheltered in the second hut, which has a loft for children and may be reached by a separate entrance at a higher level. The wife grinds millet and other grains in the third turret. Present here are millstones, and a flat stone grinding table. Spare grindstones and grain are also stored here. The husband sometimes occupies the fourth turret, but usually beer pots, calabashes of reserve foods, and water pots are stored here. The fifth turret is utilized strictly for storage. Usually large jars of millet and sesame from the harvest are stored here. A small ledge in the fifth turret, the grainary, is reserved for girls during their coming of age. Usually their sleeping mat is placed on the ledge. When the young girl is finally allowed to come out of seclusion, her foster family celebrates with a large feast, during which time the girl receives gifts of beads, live cattle and ornaments.

The walls of the huts are often decorated with paintings. The

frescos depict events in the lives of the Masakin and have no ritual meaning. They are painted for pleasure. Some of the decorative figures reveal Islamic influence. This concludes Luz's discussion.

Payne's only contribution to the discussion is the fact that a mixture of cow's blood and milk is the staple diet of the Masai's elderly.

La Fay's contribution is modest as well. He advises us that in South Africa, government-built housing promotes apartheid. Here the inhabitants pay only a modest rent but are not allowed to purchase land. The South African Government has built a number of townships outside of Johannesburg and relocated over a million Africans in the complexes, reserving the city for Afrikaners only.

Finally he tells us that the women of the Congo wear sarong-like garb and like women of other parts of Africa carry loads atop their heads.

Friendly informs his readers that the Bushman's principal diet consists of springbok, eland, rhebok, and hartebeest. The ancestors of the Bushmen who painted ancestral rock paintings are small in number, some 30,000, and reside in the Kalahari desert. The author's only other contributions to this discussion is the assertion that the Bushman's skin is loose to allow him to eat large amounts of food; he is not always able to locate food and being able to eat much at one time he can go longer without it if necessary.

The Thomases tell us that the Pygmies seem to enjoy life and are very light-hearted. Their little villages continually bubble with laughter and at times burst into dance and song with the accompaniment of a drumbeat. One of their favorite pastimes is swinging from a liana tied to a tree limb. Their leaf-thatched houses are made of saplings

and mngongo leaves. The Bambuti are nomadic people and transport all of their belongings from campsite to campsite.

Occasionally, the Pygmies may find a bee tree. They will climb up the tree with baskets of smoldering sticks contained in leaves. Smoke from the sticks will dull the angry and swarming bees. The hunters will then rob the hive, feasting indiscriminately on larvea, wax and honey.

Bambuti children under the age of four years wear nothing at all, and the others are very scantily clothed. In spite of this, the Pygmies seem to have very much the same attitude toward nudity as people who clothe themselves fully. The author cites the following situation as an example. Two Pygmy boys may be fighting with a host of people watching. Suddenly one of the boys may lose his loincloth. His mother will grab him up immediately and carry him off, but within a few minutes he will be back properly clad to continue the contest.

The diet of the Bambuti is varied. Examples are mushrooms sauteed in palm oil; manioc pounded into flour, then shaped into balls and simmered in palm oil; and tea sweetened with honey.

The women of Senegal parade their wealth by dressing in intricate and ostentacious clothing. One example is their finely designed, wrapped turbans with their projecting ends.

Many of the Wagenia dress in a combination of Western and native garb, and wear the clothing with much confidence. This is found mostly among the village leaders. Lesser members cling to the more traditional and comfortable garb. Finally, leopard skin, which is worn by village headmen, is considered a symbol of authority.

Scofield contributes the following to the present discussion. In the French colony of the Ivory Coast integration has been effected easily as whites and Blacks live together in the numerous apartment developments. A portion of the population are Southeast Asian refugees who have a new home in the French Colony. Children of this colony play soccer, one of their favorite sports.

Western influences are quite apparent in the Cameroon port city of Douala where young men wear white shirts, leather shoes and slacks, and ride motor bikes.

The average income of Chad's inhabitants is reputed to be the lowest in Africa. Even the well-to-do families can manage to hustle no more than ten or twelve thousand francs annually--equal to about fifty dollars. Only about ten per cent of Chad's people are literate and the country has only one newspaper, ". . . a mimeographed sheet that goes to the few interested enough and rich enough to afford its $50-a-year subscription fee."[69] The homes of Chad's people are usually surrounded by tightly woven brush fences and give them the so highly prized privacy that West African families desire. Enclosures made of the same elements pen their Zebu cattle.

In Upper Volta's capital, Ouagadougou, a marketplace offers commodities for every type of shopper. There are numerous piles of seasonings, deep fried peanut butter flower, leather amulets filled with passages from the Koran for Moslems, sandals fashioned of old automobile tires, flints for starting fires, tiny bottles made of gazelle skin and

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[69]Scofield, "Freedom Speaks," p. 170.

bows with quivers filled with arrows. Present also are medicine vendors selling miracle drugs and 'bush doctors'.

Not far from the Ouagadougou marketplace rise show place public buildings and plush hotels ". . . along side African residential quarters of mud houses, mud streets, and open sewers."[70]

The Mossi live in walled compounds usually consisting of five or six houses. The one house nearest the entrance of the compound belongs to the husband, the others are occupied by his several wives. Surrounding the compounds during the summer months are dense growths of sorghum.

Dakar is a modern city and has been called the 'Paris of Africa' with its modern hotels, apartment complexes and air terminal, but as in all cities decadent conditions prevail. In Dakar's medina or African quarter there are

> . . . homes of shoeshine boys and clerks, the taxi drivers and the market porters. If they are lucky, they may own a one-room shack of packing-crate boards and corrugated iron; if not, as much as three-quarters of their monthly income may go toward six square feet of rented shelter. In either case their wives crowd around a community tap twice a day to get water, and step gingerly around dogs, chickens, goats, and piled refuse on their way to work.[71]

This concludes Scofield's contribution to this discussion.

Marden tells us that shoppers of a market at Ambalavao are clad in colorful clothing and are draped in the flowing white lamba, the dress of the Malagasy. Among the market crowd are islanders belonging to the highland Betsileo culture, "a people who migrated long ago from Southeast Africa and excel at building the intricate rice terraces that give

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[70] Ibid., p. 177.

[71] Ibid., p. 198.

Madagascar an Asian look."[72]

Though the French are gone, their influence remains. Many signs in the marketplaces and on businesses are in French and the cities of Madagascar have an unmistakable Gallic flavor.

The Malagasy marketplace at Antananarivo is known as Zoma. "Zoma" means Friday, which is when farmers usually crowd the marketplace to sell their produce grown in gardens outside the city. Thus, the name was adopted for the marketplace. At the market one can find fresh artichokes, carrots, turnips, cauliflowers, and tomatoes. The Malagasy supply needed protein to their rice-based diets by supplementing it with fowl, ducks, geese, and chickens.

The president of Madagascar feels that the country needs more manpower in order to take care of the plentiful uncultivated valleys and plains of the island. He has urged every Malagasy to have at least 12 children. It has been noted that the population is increasing geometrically and that many people already have 12 children.

> Although Madagascar's chief crop is rice, which is seemingly planted everywhere, the government has had to import rice for the past three years as the population growth has outstripped the harvests.[73]

The cultures of the highlands build houses of sun-dried blocks, then plaster them with a concoction of cattle waste and red soil. Their roofs are step-down, made of shaggy thatch. This concludes Marden's contribution to the discussion.

Ross's contribution to this discussion amounts to a couple of statements. Each house of an Ndebele family has a fence and yard. Their

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[72]Marden, "Madagascar," p. 446.

[73]Ibid., p. 452.

fields, near the home, grow corn. Finally, the roofs of the houses are overlapping circles of grass thatch which shed water very handily.

Kenney advises us that the women of Ghana dress in the country's off-the-shoulder garb of brightly colored prints. Bread peddlers of Ghana carry huge platters of bread on their heads cushioned by pads of twisted cloth.

The Ashanti statesmen wear blazing robes and headdresses gleaming with yellow gold. Their stools, symbols of power, are carried by their bearers.

In Leopoldville, as in all of Black Africa, women monopolize marketplaces. They attend with their heads bandannaed, dressed in flashy, calico prints, and walking barefooted. The markets hours here are from 6:00 A.M. until 12:00 noon. Found at the market are soft drinks, banana leaves, fish, skins, dried grasshoppers, sheets, lettuce leaves, wrapping paper, spinach, manioc flour, peanuts, peppers and rice.

In the past African women wore very little clothing, a loincloth, or nothing at all, but today more than ever women are wearing dresses with low necklines and one bare shoulder.

Kenya's largest native group of people is the Kikuyu. Once involved in the heated Mau Mau fight of the 1950's, many presently farm, live in resettlement towns and seek to educate their children.

Many Bantus who once lived in slums now reside in housing developments built by the government which surrounds many of South Africa's cities. One hundred thousand of these homes were built by the government in four years. This concludes Kenney's contribution to the discussion.

The Fiévets contribute the following information. All of the people who live in a region of the Mandara Mountains called Sukur save the chief are nude except for a goatskin loincloth hanging from their belts. These people, wary of possible Fulani invaders build their compounds on rocky hillsides. Their huts are wrapped with straw mats to prevent the rains from washing away the walls. Terraced gardens are a part of their compounds.

The Kaleri hold community banquets often, as nearly all ceremonies are climaxed with feasts. Each family usually brings a huge carved wooden bowl to the feast to hold the various foods eaten during the event. Village chefs clad in bracelets and special hats carve the banquet meal, a cow, and cook in large clay pots. Bananas and lemons are among the foods eaten by the Kaleri.

An unnamed ethnic group living on the Niger River build their houses atop the water. These people are fishermen. Their floating homes are roofed with raffia palm. Assembled in what appears to be confusion the individual houses form an entire floating village.

The Fon (chief) of Bafut wears elaborate robes and an elephant-hair headdress. His royal couch is supported by carved wooden figures. His pillow shows the face of a lion, which symbolizes strength and power. The ivory, which surrounds his throne is a constant ". . . reminder that his ancestors never trod bare ground, but always veritable roads of ivory."[74] This ends the Fiévets' discussion of food, clothing, and housing.

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[74]Fiévet and Fiévet, "Beyond Benin," p. 244.

Putnam's contribution is slight. The Ituri forest, located just north of the equator, escapes much of the tropical heat due to its 3,000 foot elevation. The Pygmies rely on the forest's heavy rains to support the plants and animals which are parts of their diet. Plantains form a large portion of their diet. They are usually cooked before eating. They are related to the banana, but contain more starch and less sugar. Manioc and roasted eseli nuts are also a part of their diet. Finally, the Pygmies have a long custom of smoking marijuana and have recently taken up beer drinking.

Elizabeth Thomas advises us that there are several language groups of Bushmen that live in the Kalahari desert; Kung, Ko, Naron, Gwikwe, and Auen. The author implies that the different groups may be identified by their clothing in her statement that women of the Kung language group wear skins of antelope as capes known as karosses. Usually mothers carry their babies in the pouch of the cape. Women who are not yet mothers carry sticks in the pouch to be utilized as fuel.

Bushmen women often cook omelets from ostrich eggs in pots obtained from the Bantu. Empty egg shells are utilized as water canteens. Bushmen also eat roots and berries.

Bushmen dwellings are known as skerms and their camps as werfs. The dwellings, of grass and branches, are made for a temporary stay only as they are usually abandoned as soon as the food supply in that area is depleted.

During the month of October, food and water is very scarce because it is usually the worst time of the drought. It is during this time that large groups gather around permanent water holes. Bushmen never come together as large groups at any other time.

In the region of the Gwikwe Bushmen there are no permanent waterholes. During the dry season the people must rely on liquid from melons and squeezed roots.

> During the worst droughts the Gwikwe dig shallow holes for themselves in the shade of trees and line the holes with the squeezed root scrapings. They save their urine, pour it on the scrapings and lie in the holes during the heat of the day. The evaporating urine causes them to lose less moisture by perspiring. In the evening they get up and try to find more roots which will sustain them another day.[75]

Bushmen are able to mark in their minds the exact locations of such roots and go to them months or seasons later. This ends Elizabeth Thomas's contribution to the discussion.

Wentzel is the final contributor to the current discussion. He views Angola largely as an unexplored region with its inhabitants being wild game and ". . . shy, primitive Bushmen."[76] He tells us that inside a Bushman hut, domeshaped and built flimsily of branches and leaves, one might find a soft bed of grass, bones, seeds, calabashes, a turtle shell, and a fire. In the trees nearby, one might find pieces of smoked wildebeest hung to branches and wrapped neatly in bark. Bushmen women have been observed smoking pipes. Their speech is like a high pitched vocal click-clack sound. Their hair is peppercorn.

Termites are considered a delicacy by many Africans and particularly fried termite queens. Many African cultures clear their land in preparation for the planting of manioc, pumpkins, corn, and beans by burning.

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[75]Thomas, "Bushmen," p. 887.

[76]Wentzel, "Angola," p. 349.

Portuguese immigrants live in newly constructed communities called colonatos (colonies) and grow corn, wheat, soy beans, and potatoes in nearby fields.

Much of the diet of Mozambique's many cultures contain foods not indigenous to the region.

> Portuguese sailors brought maize, manioc, cashews, and peanuts from the Americas. The mango comes from India, the Arabs introduced oranges, lemons, and ginger. Farming in the European sense never existed here before this century. Even today, most of Africa belongs to a hoe culture.[77]

This concludes the discussion of food, clothing, and housing.

Body and Body Ornamentation

The discussion of body and body ornamentation is composed primarily of descriptions by the authors of the physical characteristics of African people. Accompanying the explanations of the peoples' physical make-up there is in many instances a description of their ornamentation and embellishment. Fifteen of the twenty articles considered contain information relevant to this discussion. Of the contributors, Luz is the sole author that seems to be preoccupied with the topics, so overly occupied with them that he begins his article with a discussion of cicatrization. Other contributors are Payne, Friendly, the Thomases, Ross, Kenney, Marden, Wentzel, the Fiévets, Thomas, Shriver, the Rodgers, Scofield, and Putnam. None of the contributing discussions are profound.

Luz tells us that "among these happy and spirited people, who normally wear no clothes, skin decoration is an invariable concession to

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[77] Quoted by Volkmar Wentzel, p. 222.

vanity."[78] They also seem to be quite unembarrassed by their nakedness.

Cicatrization is practiced at a very early age. Traditional embossed patterns of the decoration covers the arms, breasts, stomach, back, and legs. The patterns allow the Nuba to walk with pride. They are made by lifting the skin with a stout thorn, then with the front edge of a small knife shaped like a spatula, short incisions are made in the skin. A few minutes following, blood is wiped from the wounds and saliva and seseme oil are rubbed into the welts to aid healing.

Expectant Masakin mothers have lengthy ritual scars cut into their abdomens. Altogether about 60 incisions are made, each approximately four inches in length. In addition, a scorpion pattern must also be applied to the left and the right of the navel.

Cicatrization for a Nuba girl begins at age seven or eight. By the time her first child is born, her body has no areas free of the scarification. The most elaborate scarification patterns are found on the bodies of Nuba men. The symbolic motifs and animal figures are cut much deeper into the man's skin, and the effect is a high relief pattern on the skins. Various patterns are often times cut into the hair of one's head also, using a sharp metal blade of some sort.

Other adornment worn by the women may include earrings, an ear rimmed with wire, a wooden plug worn through a small hole in the lower lip, and metal bits to adorn the nose. This is the extent of Luz's discussion.

Payne advises us that the youths of the Kikuyu clothe themselves in calico cloaks that have been reddened with ocher, and arm themselves

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[78]Luz, "Proud Primitives," p. 673.

with sheathed swords and spears whose blades are half the length of the weapon.

The Kikuyu women adorn themselves in coiled copper arm and wrist-bands, beaded head ornaments, and oiled goatskins. To indicate that they are married, women wear shelled disks around their throats. Finally, many Masai women shave their heads.

Friendly tells us that the Bushman was small in stature, usually about five feet in height.

> . . . his ankles were slim like race-horses, his legs supple, his muscles loose, and he ran like the wind, fast and long. In fact when on the move he hardly ever walked but, like the springbuck or wild dog, traveled at an easy trot . . . .[79]

This concludes Friendly's discussion.

The Thomases tell us that the Somalis are

> . . . tall, handsome [people] . . . of the eastern Hamitic family, with long stringy hair wiped with grease. Men and women alike . . . [wear] ample lengths of orange-brown cloth draped from the shoulder to knee.[80]

This is the extent of the Thomases' discussion.

Ross advises us that the Zulu women wear heavy metal rings around their ankles. Their children are carried on their backs. Male Swazis wear spiked hairdos and ear ornaments of bone, wood, or metal. An African people related to the Zulu wear metal bracelets and anklets that remain in place for life. Finally, they also adorn themselves in beaded collars, worn over the head, but they may be removed.

Kenney informs us that the women of the Ndebele culture wear rings

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[79]Friendly, "Bushman Art," p. 854.

[80]Thomas and Thomas, "Flight," p. 85.

of dyed grass dotted with beads around their necks. The coils become thicker as the women age. Upon marriage the women begin wearing a special marriage blanket.

Many of the Masai adorn their ears with metal pendants and wire frames. Many of them also dye their plaited hair with ocher and oil it heavily with animal fat; others wear it in ringlets. The Masai, who were once feared warriors, now herd cattle along the Tanganyika-Kenya border.

Angolan girls wear beads shaped like bangs that signify their coming of age. They wear additional beads that circle the collar worn on their necks. Scarification may cover their midriff.

Many women of the Congo wear colorful bandannas and beads. Finally, many still file their teeth as a form of adornment.

Marden describes the Malagasy. "Brown-skinned and fine-boned, with straight black hair and large luminous eyes, many of them would have passed unnoticed on the streets of Bangkok or Papeete."[81] This is the extent of Marden's contribution to the discussion.

Wentzel tells us that among the Mwila different stages of a woman's life are represented by different coiffures. The women saturate their hair with oil, then mold it with a mud and cow dung mixture. The hair is then decorated with numerous bead patterns. Their neckbands are fashioned of shells, rope, and beads. In order to make their hairline even, they shave their forehead.

Kulave babies have a decorated stick strapped to their backs to keep their spines straight when being transported in a sling by their mothers.

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[81] Marden, "Madagascar," p. 447.

Some of the Negro women wear sari-like robes and adorn themselves with nose disks, which is primarily an Asian form of embellishment.

People of the Makonde culture create tatoos on their bodies and faces by making hundreds of small cuts on their skin and then rubbing them with charcoal, earth and herb irritants. The women also wear nail lip plugs.

Some of the Makua women wear large disks in their upper lips. This form of disfigurement is thought to have originated during slavery days to make women less desirable as slaves. This concludes Wentzel's discussion.

Shriver tells us that the Moslem women of Tanganyika dress in black cloaks called bui buis. Arabs dress in a flowing garb called kanzus and wear turbans on their heads. Finally, they also carry lovely silver-cased daggers.

Putnam tells us that the Pygmies that live deep in the Ituri rain forest are kind of a reddish-chocolate color. Their villages are located near the Epulu River in the Belgian Congo.

For adornment the women concoct an indelible paste of vegetable juices and charcoal with which they paint patterns on their bodies. Some Pygmies create elaborate hairdos by cropping their scalps with an old razor or a piece of broken glass. Putnam's contribution ends here.

Scofield advises us that male Méri youths of the Northern Cameroons adorn themselves in ostentacious beads as decoration. Jewelry, in some portions of Africa, is made of anything and everything imaginable. Some women of the Cameroons distend their pierced ears with portions of spent cartridge cases left behind by German inhabitants prior to World War I.

Maidans of the Malian Fulani, whose people range the sub-Sahara, wear massive earrings made of solid gold. They add to their adornment by tatooing their lips, probably with plant juice, which serves as an indelible lipstick. Finally, some women of Chad create elaborate coiffures by spending hours tediously plaiting their hair.

George and Jinx Rodger inform us that the age and marital status of the Dodoth men is told in their elaborate hair styles. Their delicate coiffures are kept in place during sleep by the men resting their heads on stools. During festive occasions the men may add an ostrich plume just as a final accent. Some of the warriors adorn their heads by matting their hair with clay, then paint their helmet with intricate and colorful designs. This is the extent of their contribution.

The Fiévets tell their readers that the Kaleri people inhabit the Bauchi plateau. These people are described by the authors as "savage-looking, warlike, yet . . . most likable . . . ."[82] The Fiévets also say that they are "fierce yet timid, cruel yet thoughtful of others, ..."[83] For adornment Kaleri

> Warriors smear their bodies with palm oil, then dab on red laterite, believing the rock powder wards off evil spells. Using a laterite paste, they roll their hair into scarlet ringlets, then pour on palm oil to make the curls shiny or satiny.[84]

The hunters, who traditionally dance a prayer prior to each hunt in hopes of a successful outing, wear only g-strings, sheathed swords and game bags. They may also wear a string of glass beads circling their heads,

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[82] Fiévet and Fiévet, "Beyond Benin," p. 227.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., p. 228.

and millet straw in their pierced ears and noses.

Because the Kaleri utilized palm oil and laterite on their bodies the author called them 'red negroes'.

The Fulani are ". . . a slender, light-skinned people with straight noses."[85]

In the village of Banso among the Cameroons, some of the elders have extremely "noble" features and plaited beards of long, slender braids similar to those of the pharoahs of ancient Egypt. They are clad in loincloths, their chests bare save for the many necklaces they wear. They also wear sabers slung over their shoulder.

Kano's chief of the hunters wears leather sacks and bits of horn that contain verses from the Koran around his neck. He carries other amulets on his chest as well for protection against evil. His cane serves as a staff of office and is tipped with feathers. He may also wear spare weapons of antelope horns on his back.

The Atta (king) of Igala wears a beaded helmet fringed with feathers and a bronze mask on his chest which is passed down from one king to another. His sleeveless coat is made of silk. Clad in his numerous robes the chief visits the tomb of his father annually to meditate. This concludes the Fiévets' attention to ornament.

Elizabeth Thomas informs us that the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert region virtually carry all of their worldly possessions on their backs. The author describes one Bushman as being about five feet in height with very straight and slender legs and arms. The extent of his clothing was a mere loincloth and over his shoulder hung a string to which

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[85]Ibid., p. 233.

a skin bag was attached. The Bushman's face is wrinkled with creases, and because he rubs it with fat and black paste, it is much blacker than the rest of his body.

The Bushman's skin color is brownish yellow though often times it may seem darker because of sunburn and dirt. Bushmen infants are born with a Mongolian spot at the base of their spines which usually fades with age. "Mongolian eye fold and flat nose characterize . . . a typical Bushman."[86] Many of them wear leather armlets and ostrich-shell beads in their hair. Scarification is often utilized as ornamentation also. Another popular style among the women is the shaved head. This concludes the author's contribution and also closes the discussion of body and body ornamentation.

Conclusion

Many of the twenty articles under consideration in Chapter Two are similar, first in the types of information given and secondly in their presentation of the material. Three articles by the staff of the National Geographic Magazine and another by Howard La Fay are very similar in that their focus is the political transitions occurring in different parts of Africa. La Fay also focuses his attention on cultural aspects of the Masai, but the bulk of his presentation is concerned with political and territorial transitions.

The second group of authors that include Thomas and Thomas, Shriver, Putnam, Elizabeth Thomas, and Payne generally seems to be concerned with

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[86] Thomas, "Bushmen," p. 881

the presentation and elucidation of African culture. Their treatment of Africans and their culture is neutral. They seem to have tried very hard to maintain an objective point of view and to treat Africans as humans rather than as objects of fascination or things not equal to the authors themselves.

The articles of Rodger and Rodger, Ross, Marden, and Scofield are primarily concerned with historic Africa in contrast with contemporary Africa. Their presentations focus on old and new cities, the implementation of progressive educational, technological, and political changes in comparison to the old African ways of life.

Kenney, Wentzel, and Fiévet and Fiévet generally cite political, educational and technological changes, but still relegate Africans to an inferior status. They view them as primitives and sub-humans. Kenney speaks of "fierce warriors of the voo-doo ridden jungle." Fiévet and Fiévet make references to Africans as "savage-looking, warlike." Wentzel speaks of the Bushman as "shy and primitive," "scarcely out of the Stone Age." He also tells us that he witnessed African "dances of savage beauty."

Friendly, who looks at ancestral Bushman art work, equates contemporary Bushmen and their ancestors with animals. He says of the Bushmen

> Magnificently adjusted to his environment, superbly qualified for the life he led, so at one with nature and the land, with the beasts and the bees and bushes which gave him his food, it is not farfetched to think of him as a kind of perfect animal.[87]

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[87] Friendly, "Bushman Art," p. 865.

Luz makes no attempt to conceal a similar conception of Africans in his article "Proud Primitives, The Nuba People,"[88] which focuses on Masakin (Nuba) culture.

In this second ten year era more articles about the entire African continent were written than during the first era. Also there were more than three times as many articles written concerning Black Africa during the second decade (1957-67) than during the first (1931-41). These facts alone indicate greater interest in Africa during the second period than the first.

During the second period the authors seemed more concerned with government than royalty and kingship. Generally their writings were concerned with the many countries' acquisition of independence and the political, economic, and social changes that accompany it. It should also be pointed out that explanation of how African cultures function is better in this period than in the first. The articles in general also seem to focus on change and compare Africa's past and present. The authors' treatment of Africa as exotic is not as overt, albeit that element is still present. Africans are given more rational treatment as human beings than they were in the first period. There is also an important subject mentioned in this period that is absent from the first period, namely language. Fiévet and Fiévet, for example, tell us that the countless cultures of Nigeria and the Cameroons represent numerous vernaculars, customs and religions. La Fay also advises us that the people of the Congo speak more than 100 different languages. Other

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[88]Luz, "Proud Primitives," pp. 673-699.

authors provide even more information and misinformation on different languages of Africa.

In conclusion, we see that the Western view of Africa during the decade from 1957-67 was in a state of transition. The changes we perceive are not necessarily radical, complete turn-abouts, but are enough for us to recognize and to assess them as being more objective and progressing in a direction that is more rational than the perception held during the period from 1931-41.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

Chapters One and Two have considered National Geographic Magazine articles published during two ten year periods: pre-World War II, 1931-1941 and post-Ghanaian Independence, 1957-1967. The authors' attitudes about Black Africa as expressed in their articles have been described and evaluated for both periods. Other assessments of the articles included whether or not the views expressed were of any value, whether or not the presentations were faithful to the facts and what information about Black Africa was communicated. This third and final chapter will serve as a synopsis as well as a contrast and comparison of the two periods examined in order to determine whether there was a change of attitudes toward Black Africa expressed in the articles.

The information given in the authors' discussions of royalty and government in the two ten year periods under consideration, 1931-41 and 1957-67, is quite different. The topic focused on most by the contributors to discussions of the pre-World War II era, 1931-41, is royalty. Some figures of royalty included in the discussions are the Sultan, Njoya, overlord of the city of Foumban; Lamido, King of Rei Bouba; and the Obba of Beni. The element of government is not treated save for the possible mention of the different royalty figures' extent of power and rulership.

The primary focus of the authors for the post-Ghanaian Independence era, 1957-67, is the political and territorial transitions occurring throughout the African continent, although there is a brief mention of royalty. There are listings in some articles of the countries having already gained or about to gain sovereignty.

The first period emphasizes the old and primitive ways of Africa, non-change, and in one instance colonialism, when we are told by Marston of His Highness Sir Daudi Chwa and how he is allowed to rule his Baganda culture under British supervision. Conversely in the second period we are advised of the change, and evolution occurring in countries gaining sovereignty and that the changes are varied and numerous; territorial changes, name changes, political changes, economic changes, and so on. Inherent in the mention of these changes is the idea that these countries are in a phase-transition period from a state of static primitiveness and colonialism to more progressive types of political and social systems.

The discussion of history in the first era offers us only brief and non-substantive historical information and tends to confuse myth, legend and history. The historical information provided the reader for the second period is primarily incidental and is non-substantive also. The only major discernible difference in the two periods' treatment of history is the fact that, at least in one instance, in the second period a detailed history was given, something not present in the first period, of the origins of a contemporary culture. Marden tells his readers of the multi-ethnic make-up and formation of the Malagasy Republic. It is therefore very difficult to assess any real change in atti-

tudes by the authors between the two discussions of history.

In the first period, the treatment of religion and initiation is one in which the authors focused on the wierd and bizarre, but did, however, manage to show that religion in Black Africa takes many forms, among them fetish worship, Muhammedanism, ancestral worship, and possibly a combination of those mentioned or one combined with yet another religious system. Whichever form the religious systems take, it is obvious that they are a very important aspect within African life. The social and religious systems are intimately interwoven. The initiation rites, as well, are shown to be a vital function in some Black African societies.

Included within the discussion of religion and initiation in the second period are marriage, superstition, magic, and death, as the four usually have a basis in religion in African cultures. The entries by the authors are fairly informative.

The basic difference in the discussions of religion and initiation between the first and second periods are the presentations. The material to be discussed in both periods is very similar, but the presentations of it reveal a great deal about how the authors perceive Africans and their cultures in the two different periods. The first period's focus was exoticism, while during the second, though the seemingly odd is still a part of the discussion the oddity is reduced to a minimum by further discussion and explication of the novelties. When the presentations of similar material is as different as the two periods under consideration here, the attitudes responsible for those presentations must have undergone a significant change. Thus, we see significant change in the atti-

tudes expressed about Black Africa in the discussion of religion and initiation from the first to the second period.

The discussion of dance and music in the first period offer some facts and even some insights, but they also indicate the authors' serious misunderstanding of the aesthetics of Black African peoples' dance and music.

In general the discussions of dance and music for the second period indicate that these are two important elements in all African cultures. In every culture dance and music are a part of significant events such as birth, death, marriage, harvest, fertility, and hunting. Though the authors seem to recognize the importance of the two elements, at times their treatment of them indicates that they perceive them as oddities. They focus on the "savage dances" and the brilliance of the dancers' costumes. The focus on such elements is representative of the most substantive portions of the authors' discussions and indicate their lack of insight into Black African dance and music beyond the most ostensible aspects.

In the discussions of both periods the authors seem to focus on the novel aspects of dance and music. In the first period the authors make no attempt to conceal their true feelings of Africans and their culture. Thaw and Thaw, for instance, express the opinion that all African dances are symbolic of that ". . . African natives are simple, child-like creatures, whose symbolism is as primitive as their other instincts."[1] During the second period none of the authors make bold statements such as

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[1]Thaw and Thaw, "Trans-Africa Safari," p. 346.

this, though the implications are there. Thaw and Thaw also reveal in one of their statements their association of Africans and Black Americans.

It is easy in Africa

> . . . to see where our American negro gets his love of jazz and syncopation. No rhythmical work, such as paddling or poling is accomplished without one or two drums to beat the tempo and preferably with a lusty baritone to chant an accompaniment.[2]

Generally speaking the attitudes of the contributing authors of the first period are not left to conjecture. It is quite clear how they perceive Africans and their dance and music. Generally, authors of the second period are more subtle in the expression of their feelings of Africans. There are no overt statements like those of Thaw and Thaw of the first period, though similar attitudes are implied throughout the discussions. An example is Wentzel's statement that at ". . . night, by flickering firelight among thatched houses, I witnessed Chokwe dances of savage beauty."[3]

During the first period in the discussion of crafts and occupations the articles in general indicate that the techniques and the varieties of crafts and occupations as well as the social institutions surrounding them vary in every African culture. The discussions of both periods mention a variety of crafts and occupations that may be found in African cultures and also indicate, clearly enough, that even when specific crafts or occupations are not developed within a particular culture that each culture nonetheless possesses the skills needed to sustain itself.

In the first period the important point seems to be the fact that

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[2]Ibid., p. 342.

[3]Wentzel, "Angola," p. 380.

crafts and occupations among Black African people are varied, depending on a number of things. The one thing regarded as most important in determining occupations is the land on which people reside. The land may determine whether farming or iron working is a possibility. However, the social institutions and economy along with many other factors within each culture combined with the topography and other natural influences would finally determine what their crafts and occupations would be.

In the second period, in addition to traditional crafts and occupations, treatment is given to the implementation of new programs for education and educated pursuits such as automobile mechanics, policemen, and lathe operators. Technical schools and programs financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development are given treatment also. All of these things and more are a part of the transition taking place throughout Africa during the second period.

In contrast with these new innovations are those portions of Africa not affected by the change. Wentzel, for instance, tells us of the Kuvale culture, saying ". . . these primitive people measure their wealth in livestock."[4] He also tells us that the Bushmen nomads are "among the most primitive on earth. . . ."[5]

In both periods important points are brought out concerning crafts and occupations and the variables in operation creating either possibilities or impossibilities for the establishment of a particular craft or occupation in a particular culture. The first period treats crafts and

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[4]Ibid., p. 353.

[5]Ibid.

occupations traditionally while the second treats both "primitive" and new to give a contrast, the new technical and mechanical occupations, schools, and vocational traineeships.

All seven contributing authors discussed in Chapter One address the topics of food, clothing and housing. The discussions provide the reader with some interesting information, however, much more information could have been given concerning each of the three aspects of the discussion. The authors did not focus on the strange and bizarre within the discussions to the extent that they had in the previous topics, however, their fixation with the odd is still present.

The topics of food, clothing and housing are mentioned incidentally by most of the contributors to the second period's discussion. Only one author, Luz, makes a substantial contribution to any of the three topics.

The first period's discussion focuses on traditional Africa while the second period presents discussions on both the old and the new Africa. Modern cities such as Dakar, "the Paris of Africa," are mentioned with the living experiences of Africans in cities discussed. The reader is also told of numerous new townships built for Africans by the South African Government to promote apartheid. Nudity among Africans is mentioned in both periods.

The most noticeable difference between the two periods' discussions of food, clothing and housing is again the fact that the second period presents discussions of the static and the new, enough to see change, where the first period presents only the traditional.

The final topic, body and body ornamentation, for the first period clearly demonstrates the type of exoticism the authors are preoccupied

with throughout all of the discussions in Chapter One and which characterizes the widely held Western view of Black Africa during the decade (1931-41) which the six articles represent. Topics mentioned in the discussion are cicatrization, the filing of teeth, pierced ears, noses and lips, shaved heads, large lips, elongated heads, staining of skin, and other means of adornment.

The discussion of body and body ornamentation for the second period is composed primarily of descriptions by the authors of African people. Accompanying the explanations of the peoples' physical make-up there is in many instances a description of their ornamentation and embellishment. Of the eighteen contributors, only one author seems overly occupied with these topics to the extent the authors of Chapter One were.

The authors contributing to the second chapter generally seem to have lost their fascination with the exoticism displayed by the contributing authors of Chapter One. Though this discussion did include many of the topics mentioned in Chapter One, the excitement and fascination with which they are presented is no longer present. A change in the presentation of a subject would seem to indicate a basic change in attitude about the subject.

Generally speaking, between the first and the second decades under discussion we see a modification in the presentations of Black Africa. This is based on different attitudes and as a consequence we find in the second period an emphasis on change (expressed by contrast and comparison of the "old" and the "new"). The very fact that authors in the latter era present two views of Black Africa rather than one suggests that the authors' may have undergone some sort of perceptual change. In the

first period authors fail to recognize and report change, despite the fact that change was actually an essential characteristic of both periods. Of course cultural change in Black Africa was accelerated in the second period. The fact, however, remains that the authors offered a change-less account from 1931-1941, either through intent or through faulty perception. When an author is able, as in the second period, to discern a difference or change, that in itself is an indication of an expanding and more objective perception. History is the only topic in which a change is not discernible between the discussions of the two periods. The authors' treatment of Africa as exotic is not as overt as in the post-Ghanaian Independence Era, although the theme is till present. The authors seem to be more rational in their presentations. Africans are also given more rational treatment as human beings in the second period than the first. With the above assessment it is reasonable to conclude that the attitudes expressed about Black Africa by the authors through their articles in the National Geographic Magazine in the post-Ghanaian Independence era, 1957-1967, have undergone a significant change when compared to the attitudes expressed in the articles of the pre-World War II era, 1931-1941.

Although the findings of this study indicate a change in Western perceptions and attitudes about Black Africa, the same journalism and Western involvements in Black Africa both demonstrate that on a more subtle and more significant level attitudes have remained (and remain) constant. Independent and developing Africa has had to face these attitudes. It seems, therefore, that a more comprehensive assessment of Western attitudes toward Black Africa requires an examination not only of Western journalism, but also Western politics.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ARTICLES ABOUT AFRICA

A. (1931-1941)

Note: Articles discussed in this study are preceded by an asterisk.

1931

*Vandercook, John W. "Mandate of the Cameroon." NG 59, No. 2 (February 1931): 225-260.

Chater, Melville. "Under the Union of South Africa." NG 59, No. 4 (April 1931): 391-512.

_____. "Trekking South Africa with a Color Camera." NG 59, No. 4 (April 1931): 412-421.

_____. "Faces and Flowers Below the Tropics, (South Africa)." NG 59, No. 4 (April 1931): 452-461.

_____. "Scenes on the High Veld and Low (South Africa)." NG 59, No. 4 (April 1931): 492-501.

Southard, Addison E. "Modern Ethiopia." NG 59, No. 6 (June 1931): 679-738.

Moore, W. Robert. "Coronation Days in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)." NG 59, No. 6 (June 1931): 738-746.

_____. "Present Day Scenes in the World's Oldest Empire (Ethiopia)." NG 59, No. 6 (June 1931): 690-723.

1932

Courtellmont, Gervais and Flandrin M. "In the Land of Cruel Desert and Majestic Mountains (Morocco)." NG 61, No. 3 (March 1932): 306-315.

1933

*Wilson, James C. "Three-Wheeling through Africa." NG 65, No. 1 (January 1934): 37-92.

1935

Casserly, Gordon. "Fez, Heart of Morocco." NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 663-694.

Flandrin, M. "Modern Life in Morocco, Western Outpost of Islam." NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 679-694.

*De Chetelat, Eleanor. "My Domestic Life in French Guinea." NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 695-730.

Grosvenor, Gilbert. "National Geographic Society's New World Map of Africa." NG 67, No. 3 (September 1935): 731-752.

Chater, Mellville. "Rhodesia, The Pioneer Colony." NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 753-782.

Park, James Loder. "Life's Tenor in Ethiopia." NG 67, No. 6 (June 1935): 783-793.

Lechenperg, Harald P. "With the Italians in Eritrea." NG 68, No. 3 (September 1935): 265-295.

Roberts, Leo B. "Traveling in the Highlands of Ethiopia." NG 68, No. 3 (September 1935): 297-328.

Lechenperg, Harald P. "Open-Air Law Courts of Ethiopia." NG 68, No. 5 (November 1935): 633-646.

1937

*Marston, Jay. "Uganda, Land of Something New." NG 71, No. 1 (January 1937): 109-130.

McBride, Ruth. "Keeping House on the Congo." NG 72, No. 5 (November 1937): 643-670.

1938

*Thaw, Lawrence Copely and Thaw, Margaret Stout. "Trans-Africa Safari." NG 74, No. 3 (September 1938): 327-364.

Thaw, Lawrence. "Africa on Parade." NG 74, No. 3 (September 1938): 343-350.

1939

Verhoogen, Jean. "We Keep House on an Active Volcano." NG 76, No. 4 (October 1939): 511-550.

Bourclay, Reginald A. "Wings Over Nature's Zoo in Africa." NG 76, No. 4 (October 1939): 527-542.

1940

Price, Williard. "By Felucca Down the Nile." NG 77, No. 4 (April 1940): 435-476.

Stewart, Anthony. "Under Egypt's Golden Sun." NG 77, No. 4 (April 1940): 451-466.

Moore, W. Robert. "Old-New Battle Grounds of Egypt and Libia." NG 78, No. 6 (December 1940): 809-820.

1941

De Chetelat, Enzo. "Dusky Tribesmen of French West Africa." NG 79, No. 4 (April 1941): 639-662.

*Boulton, Laura. "Timbuktu and Beyond." NG 79, No. 5 (May 1941): 631-670.

Hayes, William. "Daily Life in Ancient Egypt." NG 80, No. 4 (October 1941): 419-515.

Herget, H. M. "Life, Culture, and History of the Egyptians." NG 80, No. 4 (October 1941): 436-514.

B. (1957-1967)

1957

*Thomas, Tay and Thomas, Lowell Jr. "Flight to Adventure." NG 112, No. 1 (July 1957): 49-112.

1958

Rodger, Jinx. "Sand In My Eyes." NG 113, No. 5 (May 1958): 664-705.

1959

*Fiévet, Jeanette and Fiévet, Maurice. "Beyond the Bight of Benin." NG 116, No. 2 (August 1959): 221-253.

1960

Zahl, Paul A. Ph.D. "Face to Face With Gorillas in Central Africa." NG 117, No. 2 (January 1960): 114-137.

*Putnam, Anne Eisner. "My Life With Africa's Little People." NG 117, No. 2 (February 1960): 278-302.

*Kenney, Nathaniel T. "Africa: The Winds of Freedom Stir a Continent." NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 303-359.

*"New Portrait of Africa's Changing Face." NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 360-361.

*Rodger, George and Rodger, Jinx. "Where the Elephants Have the Right of Way." NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 363-389.

Leakey, L. S. B. "Finding the World's Earliest Man." NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 420-435.

"The Last Great Animal Kingdom." NG 118, No. 3 (September 1960): 390-409.

1961

Ross, Edward S. "Hunting Africa's Smallest Game." NG 119, No. 3 (March 1961): 406-419.

*Wentzel, Volkmar. "Angola, Unknown Africa." NG 120, No. 3 (September 1961): 348-383.

Leakey, L. S. B. "Exploring 1,750,000 Years Into Man's Past." NG 120, No. 4 (October 1961): 564-589.

1962

Zahl, Paul A. "Mountains of the Moon." NG 121, No. 3 (March 1962): 412-434.

*La Fay, Howard. "Freedom's Progress South of the Sahara." NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 603-637.

*"New Africa, From Cape to Congo." NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 638-639.

*Ross, Kip. "South Africa Close-Up." NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 641-681.

Kinlock, Bruce C. M. C., Maj. "Orphans of the Wild." NG 122, No. 5 (November 1962): 683-699.

1963

*Leakey, Louis S. B. "Adventures in the Search For Man." NG 123, No. 1 (January 1963): 132-152.

*Friendly, Alfred. "Africa's Bushman Art Treasures." NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 848-865.

*Thomas, Elizabeth Marshall. "Bushmen of the Kalahari." NG 123, No. 6 (June 1963): 866-888.

Goodall, Jane. "My Life Among Wild Chimpanzees." NG 124, No. 2 (August 1963): 272-308.

Gerster, Georg. "Threatened Treasures of the Nile." NG 124, No. 4 (October 1963): 587-621.

"The Nile: Problem and Promise." NG 124, No. 4 (October 1963): 622-623.

Noblecourt, Christiane Desroches. "Tutankhamun's Golden Trove." NG 124, No. 4 (October 1963): 625-646.

Williams, John G. "Freeing Flamingos From Anklets of Death." NG 124, No. 6 (December 1963): 934-944.

1964

*Wentzel, Volkmar. "Mozambique: Land of the Good People." NG 126, No. 2 (August 1964): 197-231.

*Shriver, Sargent. "Ambassadors of Good Will." NG 126, No. 3 (September 1964): 297-313.

1965

*Payne, Melvin M. "The Leakeys of Africa." NG 127, No. 2 (February 1965): 194-231.

Terry, Nathaniel. "Ethiopian Adventure." NG 127, No. 4 (April 1965): 548-582.

Schreider, Helen and Frank. "Journey Into the Great Rift." NG 128, No. 2 (August 1965): 254-290.

Englebert, Victor. "I Joined a Sahara Salt Caravan." NG 128, No. 5 (November 1965): 694-711.

Van Lawick-Goodall, Jane Baroness. "New Discoveries Among Africa's Chimpanzees." NG 128, No. 6 (December 1965): 802-831.

1966

Gerster, Georg. "Saving the Ancient Temples of Abu Simbel." NG 129, No. 5 (May 1966): 694-742.

*Scofield, John. "Freedom Speaks French in Ouagadougou." NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 153-203.

*"Mosaic of New Nations Changes the Face of Northwestern Africa." NG 130, No. 2 (August 1966): 204-205.

*Luz, Oscar. "Proud Primitives, The Nuba People." NG 130, No. 5 (November 1966): 673-699.

Payne, Melvin M. "Preserving the Treasures of the Olduvai Gorge." NG 130, No. 5 (November 1966): 701-709.

1967

*Marden, Luis. "Madagascar: Island at the End of the Earth." NG 132, No. 4 (October 1967): 443-487.

Du Bourcher, Jean Gen. "Dry-Land Fleet Sails the Sahara." NG 132, No. 5 (November 1967): 696-725.

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